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I 73.

TAYLOR INSTITUTION.

— — — — —
BEQUEATHED

TO THE UNIVERSITY

BY

ROBERT FINCH, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

2231 E 204







AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS,
Illustrated with
CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.
AND
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

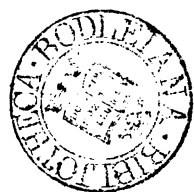
Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐκτεταταὶ μὴ καταλείβει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐσθλὰς ἀνέκωται
ἀνὰ Ἱστορίας συνήξαν ἐκείνους. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. VI.



L O N D O N,
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MDCCLXXIX.



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OF THE

SIXTH VOLUME.

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Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. XXI.

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S E C T. I.

The History of Thebes.

WHAT kind of commonwealth the Thebans chose to establish immediately after the death of their last king Xanthus, whether an aristocracy or democracy, doth not appear from any records we have. This only we know, that, in process of time, when Thebes was become one of the leading states, and, in her turn, claimed the sovereignty of Greece, its government was in the nature of a democracy. The Thebans, notwithstanding their great antiquity, their foreign and domestic wars, and the dreadful siege which their capital sustained, even before the celebrated siege of Troy, and their brave defence against the Epigoni, had made but slow progress in martial discipline and exploits, or in the improvement of their government, laws, and commerce. They were looked upon as a slothful stupid people, for a considerable time, and might, in all likelihood,

Democratic government of the Thebans.

VOL. VI. B have

Their character.

have continued contemptible, had it not been for their two great generals Pelopidas and Epaminondas, who raised them to a surprising pitch of power and reputation, from which they sunk again almost immediately after the death of those illustrious contemporaries. But stupidity was not their only defect, nor the sole obstacle to their advancement in glory and fame; they were remarkable for baseness and treachery, of which they gave many instances, especially in their betraying the common cause of Greece, and going over to Xerxes, king of Persia^a; an instance of treachery which disgraced them so much the more, as they had been the first that were corrupted, and acted in favour of the Barbarians, with the most perfidious zeal, for which they had reason to fear the resentment of their incensed neighbours the Athenians, whose power and renown increased every day.

Apply to the Spartans.

The Thebans were accordingly in no small dread of them; and, being in no capacity to defend themselves against so powerful, politic, and incensed an enemy, they found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than to seek the friendship and protection of the Lacedæmonians, who, on account of their situation, were a much less dangerous enemy. These, at this time, though contrary to their usual severity, readily granted their request, being then more inclined to forgive the partisans of the king of Persia, than to suffer the enemies of the Athenians to fall under their resentment. This unexpected generosity failed not to make an impression on the Thebans, who, for a time, expressed an uncommon gratitude to their protectors; inasmuch, that during the whole Peloponnesian war, Sparta had not a more faithful friend and ally. Thus protected, they not only recovered the government of Boeotia, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection, but Thebes was restored to its ancient lustre, and became again the capital of that commonwealth, and one of the first cities in Greece. The Thebans, by this time, however, were grown so powerful and headstrong, that they refused to accede to the peace of Antalcidas, being, as they alleged, fully resolved against giving up their jurisdiction over the towns in Boeotia: but they were, with no small difficulty, over-awed and forced into it by the rest of the parties.

Sparta especially, a professed and constant enemy to popular faction, undertook to change the form of the The-

^a Vide Herodot. lib. vii. & seqq. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. vii.

ban government. Having seized upon their citadel, which had been betrayed to their general Phœbidas by Leontiades, then one of the two polemarchs or governors of Thebes, in the Spartan interest, they were brought under the yoke. We shall not repeat here what hath been said concerning the wars which the Lacedæmonians brought upon themselves on account of these arbitrary proceedings, nor the signal defeat which that people and the Thebans received under the brave Athenian general Myronides; but pass on to that remarkable action, by which they recovered their citadel, four years after it had been taken from them, and with it their ancient liberty.

The Spartans, who were then very powerful, lay in a kind of indolent security, never suspecting that the Thebans, whom they had so lately humbled, would be so soon in a condition to make head against them, much less that they were then carrying on a correspondence for this purpose with their most considerable exiles at Athens, and concerting measures among them, by the means and contrivance of Phyllidas, secretary to the Theban governors. The conspirators had already got a competent number of exiles into the city, to whom Charon, a person of the first rank, had offered his house for their reception. These had set out from Athens, and sent twelve of the most resolute and active among them to enter, while the rest lay concealed at some distance from it, waiting the event. Pelopidas was one of the first who offered himself to conduct them into the city. This extraordinary youth had been a great promoter of the enterprize; and the share he bore in it gave the rest a sufficient earnest of the great services his country might expect one day from him. His illustrious birth, large estate, and extraordinary generosity, joined to his other excellent talents, had already raised his credit to such a height, not only at Thebes, but among other states, that Jason, the tyrant of Thessaly, did not think himself above taking a journey to that metropolis, to engage him and Epaminondas in his interest; and, by their means, he procured an alliance with the Theban republic. Pelopidas, who by this time had, in all likelihood, made some progress in the noble project of freeing his country, readily accepted of this offered alliance, though with an usurper, and a tyrant, and soon after retired to Athens, to consult with the Theban exiles. The next person, in this confederacy, was Melon, another considerable Theban, who is said to have projected

Yr. of Fl.
1974.
Ante Chr.
374.

*Retrieve
it and their
liberty.*

*Exiles en-
ter Thebes
by strata-
gem.*

The History of Thebes.

the design with him, and the manner of putting it in execution, which was as follows.

They, with ten other associates, dressed themselves like peasants, and rambled about the fields with their poles and dogs, as if in search of game; by which means they easily entered the city unsuspected, and went immediately to Charon's house, which was their rendezvous, where they were soon after joined by thirty-six more of their confederates. Here it was concerted, that Phyllidas should, on that very day, give a grand entertainment to his two masters Archias and Philip, the Spartan governors, and he engaged to provide some of the finest women in the town to render the banquet more agreeable. Things were thus settled among them, when, in the dead of the night, an officer knocked vehemently at the door, and told Charon he must come immediately to Archias the governor: upon this alarm they were all seized with dread, imagining that their plot was discovered, and that they were going to be apprehended. Charon, having bid the officer tell Archias that he was coming, went to his associates, and encouraged the most fearful not to shrink from their glorious design through ill-grounded fears; at the same time, to assure them of his fidelity, he fetched his young son, then in the cradle, out of his wife's chamber, and left it with them, as the best hostage he could give of his honour. At the governor's house, he behaved with such calmness and intrepidity, and satisfied him so well about those strangers who were at his house, promising to search their designs to the bottom, and to discover them, if they were of a dangerous nature, that he was discharged, and returned home. As there was now no time to be lost, the associates immediately divided themselves into two bands, one of which, led by Charon and Melon, was to fall upon Archias, and his company. These, dressed in women's apparel to cover their armour, with crowns of pine and poplar on their heads, to shade their faces, as soon as the guests were well heated with wine, entered the room, and immediately stabbed the two governors, with such others of their company as was pointed out to them by Phyllidas (A). At the same time the other band, headed by

*Governors
slain.*

(A) An account of the whole governor, told him, that it conspiracy had been sent to contained matters of the greatest Archias by an express from consequence both to him and Athens; and the courier, at the Spartan state. But Archias, being then in the height of the delivery of the letter to the of

By Pelopidas and Damocrides, attacked Leontiades the traitor, who had betrayed the Cadmean citadel to the Lacedæmonian general, and who was then in his bed. These rushing into the house by surprize, Leontiades leaped out, and taking his sword, received them at his chamber-door, where he killed the first man that attempted to enter. This was the brave Cephisodorus; but Pelopidas, following close after him, encountered the traitor, and, after a long and obstinate conflict, laid him dead at his feet. From thence they went in pursuit of Hypates, who was his friend and neighbour, and in the Spartan interest, and dispatched him likewise: having soon after joined the other band, they sent an express to hasten the rest of the exiles, whom they had left in Attica.

By this time, the whole city was in the utmost confusion; and though the houses were illuminated, the inhabitants ran up and down the streets in a distracted manner, waiting impatiently for day-light, that they might distinguish their friends from their foes, and determine what course to take. At break of day, the exiles, that waited without, were let in, and appeared in arms, with Demophoon at their head, to whom Pelopidas had sent an express, acquainting him with what had been done, and desiring him to march immediately into the city; for they had still great cause to apprehend, notwithstanding their success, lest the garrison of the citadel, which consisted of above fifteen hundred Lacedæmonians, should have sallied out, and cut them all to pieces; but, in all probability, the alarm had spread itself to that fortress, and that they suspected the strength of the Theban associates to be much greater than it was. However, whilst the confusion reigned in the city, Epaminondas, who had till then declined to join in the action, as being too bloody and violent, and in which too much innocent blood was like to be shed with the guilty, now appeared publicly in defence of it, but chiefly to put a stop to all further massacre, and to dispel the fears of the Thebans. He was accompanied by a croud of the best citizens and priests, the latter bearing garlands and crowns in their hands; and assured the affrighted people, that no blood had or should be spilt, but that of their tyrants and oppressors.

Epaminondas allays the tumult.

of jollity, laid it by unopened, which expression became profound and answered him, with a verbal smile, "Business to-morrow;"

*Pelopidas
proclaims
liberty to
the The-
bans.*

*Is pro-
claimed
their de-
liverer and
general.*

At the same time, Pelopidas appeared at the head of his party, encompassed likewise by priests with garlands; and, having joined Epaminondas, immediately called a general assembly of the Thebans, when he proclaimed liberty to them, and exhorted them, in the strongest terms, to fight for their gods, and their country. Nothing was now heard but loud acclamations of liberty from all parts of the city: Pelopidas was unanimously proclaimed the preserver of Thebes, and charged with the management of the war to be declared against Sparta.

Pelopidas then acquainted his countrymen with all that had been done on the preceding night; and, at the same time, took that occasion to send Phyllidas to all the gaols in the city, to release those brave Thebans whom the tyrannic Spartans kept in fetters. A great number of them, being thus restored to liberty, desired only to have arms given them, and to be allowed to fight for their country. He proceeded next to acquaint them, that the most difficult part was still behind; viz. the wresting the citadel out of the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which was, besides its natural strength, defended by fifteen hundred men, with a great number of citizens and others, who had fled thither for protection, declaring themselves on the Spartan side. This would have proved a very difficult task, if not altogether impracticable, had not the Athenians, early next morning, sent the Theban general five thousand foot, and two thousand horse; which were reinforced by several other bodies of troops, from different cities of Bœotia, to the number of about seven thousand. With these Pelopidas besieged the place in form; and though it held out several days, surrendered at length for want of provisions.

*The citadel
regained.*

*The vain
efforts of
the Spar-
tans.*

Their success so exasperated the Lacedæmonians, that they sent their king Cleombrotus, in the depth of winter, into Bœotia, to recover, if possible, their usurped dominions; but the season not permitting him to perform any other exploit, than the defeating of a few straggling parties, he returned to Sparta, leaving the farther prosecution of his design to Sphodrias, who then commanded in Thespia. In the mean time, the Athenians, who had lately assisted the Thebans, declined having any farther concern in the contest, for fear of the resentment of the Spartans; whilst the Thebans, not finding themselves in a condition singly to cope with the Spartans, were contriving some means to raise a misunderstanding between them and the Athenians, in hopes of bringing the latter
back

back to their interest. An opportunity offered itself to their wish. Sphodrias, who then commanded the Spartan troops, being no less rash and thoughtless than he was bold and ambitious, was easily persuaded to attack the pyræum, or harbour, of Athens. We have already given an account of this rash attempt, and of the ill consequences it drew upon the Spartan commonwealth. We have likewise seen the miscarriage of the two Spartan kings, Cleombrotus and Agesilaus, in their invasion of Bœotia, and the signal advantages the Thebans gained over them, under the brave Athenian general Gobrias, both by sea and land.

A confederacy formed against them.

These successful diversions were no less improved by the brave Thebans, who not only recovered all the cities of Bœotia, but made a powerful invasion into Phocis, The Spartans lost ground daily, and became less formidable to them; till at length they began to act offensively, and had many sharp encounters, which, though they did not amount to decisive battles, yet failed not to raise their courage, add to their experience, and pave the way to those great exploits which they afterwards performed. Pelopidas had signalized himself in all those encounters, particularly at the battle of Tanagra, in which he slew the Lacedæmonian general with his own hand; so that it was chiefly to his valour and conduct that they owed the greatest share of their success. The next, which was fought soon after, was still more remarkable, and glorious to him. He had formed a design of surprising the city of Orchomenos, one of the largest and most considerable in all Bœotia, which was still garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians; and was marching towards it, at the head of only three hundred foot, and some horse (B), when he received intelligence, that a considerable body of Spartans were on their march to reinforce that garrison. In consequence of this intelligence, he thought it adviseable to retire; and, in his retreat, met them near the city of Tegyra. The rencounter was no less furious than sudden and unexpected. Pelopidas ordered his horse, that were in the rear, to advance and engage the enemy; but depended principally upon his foot for the success of the battle.

Pelopidas' success against them.

(B) This small body was, however, the very flower of the Theban army, dignified with the name of the Sacred Battalion, and the Band of Lovers; equally famed for their fidelity to the Theban state, their affection for each other, and their singular courage and bravery.

The History of Thebes.

*Spartans
totally de-
feated.*

The two Spartan commanders, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, fell almost in the first onset; and all that were near them being either slain, or put to flight, the remainder of the Spartan troops were seized with such a panic, that they immediately opened a passage for the Thebans to pursue their march. Pelopidas, however, did not think fit to quit the field of battle, till he had made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, and obtained a complete victory; so that he acquired more glory by this noble retreat, than he could have got, if he had succeeded in his original design against Orchomenos. This was the greatest disgrace the Spartans had hitherto met with; for it never had been known before, that, in any of their wars, whether against Grecians or Barbarians, they had been beaten by an equal, much less by an inferior number. The Thebans were so sensible of the conduct and bravery of their two generals, as well as of the glory and advantage they were likely to reap from this signal victory, that they erected a sumptuous monument, to perpetuate the memory of it, and of their great deliverers.

*Athenians
grow jea-
lous.*

However, these successes of the Thebans, which were chiefly owing to their growing valour and experience, could not but be beheld with a jealous eye by the Athenians, who began now to think, that they gained ground too fast; for which reason they judged it more expedient to suppress, or, at least, suspend, their resentment against the Lacedæmonians, than to raise the power of one state upon the destruction of the other. An opportunity for such an accommodation soon fell in their way. Artaxerxes, wanting, at that time, some Grecian auxiliaries, to assist him in his Egyptian war, sent ambassadors to them, to put an end to their intestine broils, and to renew the peace of Antalcidas; which was revived accordingly, the Thebans being the only state that opposed it, as we have already hinted. Not long after this transaction, the same people who had taken umbrage at the Plataeans, on account of their fidelity to the Athenians, and looked upon their city with a jealous eye, came to a resolution to surprise it: the inhabitants applied to their allies for succour and protection, which was readily granted to them. This failed not to exasperate the Thebans, who sent Eurymachus, at the head of three hundred men; and he was immediately admitted into that city by some of the Plataeans they had gained to their side^b. We have spoken of

^b Thueyd. lib. ii. Diod. lib. xij.

this transaction in the Athenian history; the consequence was, that the city was razed by them, and soon after that of Theſpia; hostilities which so incensed the Athenians, both cities having so well deserved not only of them, but of the common cause, in the Persian war, that they broke off all connection with Thebes.

*Platæa and
Theſpia
razed.*

Hitherto the Thebans had only strove to secure their regained liberty by allying themselves either with Athens or Sparta, it being their constant maxim, when they were either in danger from, or deserted by the one, to have recourse to the other. They were always sure to meet with a kind reception, because whatever side they inclined to, they were of weight sufficient to turn the scale; and the wars they had been so long engaged in, had brought them into such excellent discipline and knowledge in martial affairs, that they began now to think of enlarging their territories, which they found too narrow for their ambitious views.

*Thebans
grow am-
bitious.*

This new spirit of conquest is said to have been raised by their great general and deliverer Pelopidas, seconded and supported by the brave Epaminondas, a person who, though like him endowed with all the necessary qualities to make a complete captain, or patriot, had till then preferred a private life, and lived in a constant course of virtue, employing himself in the study of philosophy. He had seldom appeared in public, except to get himself excused from those state-employments which were so eagerly courted by others. His recluse life had not hindered him from contracting an intimate friendship with Pelopidas, which had been daily improved by the correspondence of their tempers and principles, as well as by that noble zeal which both displayed for the good of their country. Even before this time, they had appeared together in action, to such advantage, that the merit of Epaminondas could be no longer concealed, nor suffer him to continue longer in his beloved retirement: so that he saw himself deservedly placed at the head of the Theban troops; where he gave such early proofs of his prowess and abilities, as justly acquired him the next rank to Pelopidas: only, this last having made a more early figure in the army, the success which the Thebans had hitherto met with, was generally ascribed to him. This preference did not, however, prevent the other from being looked upon as his second, if not his equal; both were considered in the same light, as generals in the field, as governors at home, and as complete statesmen in the council.

*Encourag-
ed by Pel-
pidas, and
Epaminon-
das.*

When

The History of Thebes.

When the general treaty for restoring peace to Greece came to be proposed by the Athenians, and was upon the point of being executed by the rest of the states, the Thebans refused their assent, unless they were comprehended in it, under the name of Boeotians.

Epaminondas's reply to the Spartans.

This demand was, however, as strenuously opposed by the other contracting powers, as insisted on by Epaminondas, who acted as ambassador on the part of the Thebans. Agefilaus, in particular, told him, that the Thebans ought to evacuate Boeotia, and leave the cities of it free and independent. To this declaration he replied, that the Lacedæmonians ought to restore Messenia to its ancient proprietors, and Laconia to its ancient freedom; for that the pretensions of the city of Thebes to Boeotia were as well founded as those of Sparta to those two countries. He proceeded to shew how far Sparta had aggrandized herself, at the expence of her neighbours; that peace might be indeed obtained, and upon a solid and lasting footing; but that this could not be otherwise done than by bringing all to an equality. This bold, though just remonstrance, in which not only Thebes, but Greece in general, was concerned, failed not to exasperate the haughty Spartan monarch; and the Athenians, who had till now looked upon the Thebans as dependents, either on them, or on the Macedonians, were not a little offended to hear their ambassadors talk in such high terms. The result of this conference was, that Agefilaus struck the name of Thebes out of the treaty, and declared war against them; the success of which has been already shewn.

Agefilaus's rash act.

After the battle of Leuctra, the victorious general of Thebes, desirous to improve this great victory, sent an herald, crowned with garlands, to communicate it, in form, to the Athenians, in hopes that this would be an effectual means to reunite them to their interest. But it proved quite otherwise; and Athens, which now looked upon them with a jealous eye, and had then in view the sovereignty of Greece, chose rather, if they could not wholly obtain it, to share it with Sparta, than to let the Thebans enjoy the whole. They therefore declined even giving their herald audience, and ordered him immediately to depart, though contrary to the laws of hospitality, which allowed such persons a time for refreshment. Ja-

Jealousy of the Athenians.

^e Xenoph. Hellen. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. xv. Vid. & Plut. in Agefil. & Pelopid. & Corn. Nep. in Vit. Epaminond.

son, the tyrant of Thessaly, who had made an alliance with Thebes, received the news of this victory in a different manner. Though at war with some of his neighbours, he found means to steal a private march through their territories, to join Epaminondas, whilst a fleet was pretended to be preparing to transport him thither by sea. He arrived in the Theban camp, at the head of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse; but when Epaminondas imparted his design of pursuing the Lacedæmonians to the very gates of Sparta, that prince strenuously endeavoured to deter him from the undertaking: He had, doubtless, some selfish views; and was not willing to see Sparta reduced so much below Thebes, as not to be able to make head against it: however, whether Epaminondas perceived his intention or not, he not only acquiesced in his reasons, but even agreed to make a truce with them. Jason, who undertook to manage it, went actually to the Spartan camp, and, with his usual eloquence and address, persuaded them to accept the terms; they immediately marched over Mount Cytheron, and returned to Laconia, where Archidamus dismissed his allies; and, with the poor remains of his army, lately the finest that ever that republic could boast, marched away for his metropolis.

Jason comes to the Theban camp.

A truce concluded.

In the mean time, the bad reception which the Theban herald had received at Athens, did not hinder several other states, to whom the news were communicated in the same manner, from expressing their joy. Some of these were thereby induced to enter into fresh alliances with them, whilst the Athenians were turning the defeat of the Spartans to their advantage. A few of those states were, indeed, compelled to enter into this alliance; but the far greater part did it either from inclination or interest, as they found they were most likely to be protected by them; so that Thebes was now become the asylum of those who apprehended the power of the Spartans or Athenians; and these refused, as well as the Thebans, to accede to the treaty of peace which the Athenians had caused to be renewed; and objected against the freedom of several towns, over which they claimed a jurisdiction.

Thebes grown formidable.

Amongst these states, the Mantineans, by the help of the Eleans and Arcadians, undertook to rebuild and fortify their city; and Pausanias tells us, that Epaminondas, about that time, persuaded several of the small towns of the Arcadians to build one common city, by the name of Megapolis, though Diodorus places it two years later. However, it is plain from what we have seen in the histories

Megapolis built.

ories

tories of Athens and Sparta, that the restoring those ancient states to their liberty and privileges, made several of them grow wanton and capricious, and fall into such violent discords, as proved of worse consequence to them than the dominion of Sparta.

All this while Jason, taking the advantage of the truce between the Thebans and Spartans, daily increased his conquests, and his sword brought those under his yoke, which neither his gold nor eloquence could subdue; so that he was now grown to such an height of power and ambition, that he was become formidable to all Greece; and might, in all probability, have gained the sovereignty of it, had he not been assassinated by some of his own subjects, who were afterwards honoured as the restorers of the Thessalian liberty. But this expedient proved only a short relief, and they came soon after to groan under a much severer tyranny, viz. that of Alexander of Pheræa, the brother of Jason, a man rightly described, in few words, as a monster, with an heart of brass, and who governed them with a rod of iron, as we shall soon see. However, as the Thebans had lost a powerful friend in Jason, they took care to strengthen themselves by new alliances: besides the Arcadians and Eleans, they had got the Phocians, Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubœans, and other states, under their dependence; so that they were now in a condition to act offensively against the Spartans; and, under pretence of assisting the Arcadians, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had entered Peloponnesus, with a gallant army. Here they were joined by the Arcadian and other confederate forces; so that the whole amounted to forty thousand, some say fifty thousand men, besides great numbers of those who followed the camp, rather for plunder than fighting, and were computed about twenty thousand more. The army was divided into four columns, and moved strait towards Sellasia, the place of their rendezvous, from which they pursued their march, with fire and sword, towards Sparta; where they were, however, repulsed by the brave Agefilaus, who was then returned to that metropolis.

To repair, in some measure, the disgrace of this expensive and successless expedition, and, at the same time, to leave some lasting monument, which should redound as much to his glory as to the mortification of the Spartans, Epaminondas left not their territories till he had restored the posterity of the old Messenians to their ancient dominions, out of which they had been banished near three hundred

*Thebans
get new
allies, and
enter Peloponnesus.*

*Ancient
Messenians
restored.*

hundred years, rebuilt their capital, and left a strong garrison for its defence. He was, however, like to have been stopped in his return by Iphicrates, whom the Athenians had sent, with twelve thousand men, to intercept him; but this last loitered so long at Corinth, that the Thebans had passed the defiles of Cenchreæ, the chief place where he could have obstructed his retreat, had he taken possession of it time enough; and continued his march till he came in view of the city of Corinth. However, he found the roads blocked up with trees, stones, and every thing that could render them impassable; and the Corinthians well fortified, being determined to make an obstinate defence. These difficulties served rather to whet than deaden his courage, and he came so furiously upon them, notwithstanding all these obstructions, that they, in a panic at his intrepidity, abandoned all their intrenchments and outworks to the Thebans, and fled into the city, whither these pursued them, sword in hand, and made a horrid slaughter. Corinth must have unavoidably fallen into their hands, had their generals thought proper to pursue these advantages; but, whether they were afraid of the Athenians falling upon them, or apprehended some dangerous ambush in a country with which they were but indifferently acquainted; or whether the army was too much weakened through so many fatigues; or, lastly, whether the coldness of the season, it being then in the depth of winter, would not permit them to proceed farther, they immediately marched towards Boeotia. This motion gave such a handle to their enemies, that they met with a very mortifying reception at their return to Thebes, where they were both arrested as state-prisoners, for having presumed to prolong their command four months beyond the time limited by law, which time took in almost the whole of their expedition from their first entrance into Peloponnesus. This was but a very ungrateful return for the signal services they had done to the Theban state; for the crime laid to their charge being capital, they were forced to submit to be tried by the judges; and, as they had nothing to allege on their behalf, except the great advantages they had gained by their unavoidable stay, they readily owned the charge, and submitted themselves to the equity of the court. Their enemies, at the same time, neglected no art nor pains to incense the people against them; insomuch, that they were upon the point of being condemned, when Epaminondas, in a modest, but spirited speech, reminded them of his late victory

*Corinthians
defeated,
and slaugh-
tered.*

*Epaminon-
das and
Pelopidas
tried.*

*His speech
to the
court.*

tory at Leuctra, and of the other services he had done, both to Thebes, and to all Greece, whose liberties he had so lately restored. Taking the whole fault upon himself, in order to save Pelopidas, he spoke to this purpose: "I was in hopes, that my successes, and the advantages you derived from them, would have been sufficient motives to induce you to acquit me; but since they are not, I only wait for your sentence, and am ready both to accuse, and condemn myself: only let posterity be as well apprised of my crime, as they will be of my punishment. Let them know, that I am put to death for having so successfully led your troops into Laconia, where no enemy had ever penetrated before, and for having been the first who made that country feel the dreadful effects of your victorious arms: that I die for having restored the Messenians to their ancient patrimony; for having reunited the Arcadians, and ruined the Lacedæmonians; for having increased your strength, enlarged your conquests, and raised you to this present height of power and glory: all I farther beg is, that it may be engraven upon my monument, that he, who had done you all these services, was punished with death." These severe reproaches had the desired effect; and, his judges being ashamed to proceed any farther, either against him, or against his equally deserving colleague, they were both honourably acquitted^f.

*Honourably
acquitted.*

Yr. of Fl.
1984.
Ante Chr.
364.

This prosecution had been chiefly carried on and encouraged by Meneclides, a discontented Theban, and a bold and able speaker, who, by his artful calumnies at the trial, had so far prevailed with the judges, that they deprived Epaminondas of the government of Bœotia for a year, though he could not gain the same advantage against Pelopidas, who was a greater favourite of the people, as being his senior in the service. Besides, Meneclides was known to be a proud, turbulent man, ill-natured, envious, revengeful, and a person of the worst character and morals. He had long envied them the glory, reputation, and universal love, which their merit had justly acquired; and could not but express a great dislike at their acquittal, since it deprived him of even the hopes of ever being rid of two such powerful rivals. Pelopidas being of a much warmer temper than Epaminondas, and spirited up by his friends, made no scruple to express an uncommon resentment against the usage he had met with, and to seek an

^f Pict. & alii supra citat.

occasion to be revenged on Meneclides, in such manner as should effectually suppress his insolence for the future. Meneclides, who durst not declare himself so openly against him as he had acted against Epaminondas, but privately endeavoured to supplant him, by setting up Charon against him, soon furnished him with an opportunity, which we shall give our reader in a note, as being rather the effect of a private pique, than a matter of a public nature (C).

By this time the Spartans, with much difficulty, had recovered themselves from their great defeat at Leuctra: but, though they had repulsed the Thebans in Peloponnesus, yet, from the exploits their general had performed there, especially in dismembering the whole kingdom of Messenia from them; they had still cause to fear what their enemy's forces might do under two such generals. They had accordingly taken care to strengthen themselves against them, and to provide a good number of auxiliaries from other states, especially from Athens, with which they had renewed their old treaty, and had agreed, that each should have the command five days alternately. Soon after this treaty, the Arcadians renewed the war, and took Pallene in Laconia by storm; put the garrison to the sword, and were soon assisted by the Argives and Eleans, and especially by the Thebans, who sent to them seven

*Spartans
prepare
against the
Thebans.*

*Arcadians
begin the
war.*

(C) Some little time before the battle of Leuctra, there had passed a skirmish at Platæa between the Thebans and Spartans, in which about forty of the latter had been slain. Meneclides, willing to raise it to the merit of a victory in favour of Charon, who commanded the Thebans, had procured a famed painter from Cyzicus, to paint the battle, in order to eclipse that of Leuctra, and made no scruple to propose the hanging it up in some public place, with an inscription, that it was in memory of the victory gained by Charon at Platæa, which he failed not to magnify with his usual eloquence. Pelopidas, who perceived the drift of this pre-

tended patriot, opposed the motion, though with singular candour and modesty, especially in regard to Charon, to whom he took care to give all due praise; but, at the same time, made the people so sensible of the absurdity of the proposal, and of the malice and impertinence of its author, that they laid a heavy fine upon him, even greater than they knew he was able to pay; which destroyed his hopes of ever succeeding against such a powerful rival, though it did not prevent his continuing a common disturber of the government, till they forced him at last to banish himself for insolvency.

thousand

*Gobrias
sent to op-
pose Epa-
minondas.*

*Epami-
nondas de-
graded.*

*Lycomedes
corrupts
the Arca-
dians.*

thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of Epaminondas; which last circumstance so alarmed the Athenians, that they immediately sent Gobrias, with some forces, to oppose his passage; and he behaved so well against the Thebans, that he gained the whole glory of this second repulse; so that they were forced to abandon Peloponnesus a second time. This miscarriage gave fresh occasion to the enemies of Epaminondas to blame his conduct in the highest terms; notwithstanding the singular bravery with which he and his troops had forced the pass; even his friends could not but suspect him of partiality for the Spartans, in not pursuing his advantage over them, and making a greater slaughter of them, when he had it in his power; whilst his enemies made it amount to no less than treachery to his country; and, though so severe and so ill-grounded an accusation could not but appear to the more considerate and unbiassed as the effect of party malice, yet it wrought so far upon the much greater part of the people, that their brave general was once more deprived of the government of Bœotia, and reduced to the condition of a private man. He did not continue long under this disgrace, before an occasion offered to retrieve his fame, and wipe off the stain which his enemies had thrown upon his character.

Among the Theban allies who had engaged in this last expedition, the Arcadians, who had begun the war, by invading Laconia, were so elated at their extraordinary success, that they would no longer act in subordination to the Thebans. They were instigated to this refusal by their general Lycomedes, a man of birth and fortune, and of an ambitious spirit. He had commanded them in most of their late expeditions; and, by his success and bravery, had gained their confidence and esteem. He now began to remind them, that the whole Peloponnesus properly belonged to them, as the original inhabitants of it; that they were the most populous nation in all Greece, and had been always esteemed by the rest for their singular bravery; and, as such, had always borne the first rank of auxiliaries; inasmuch that the Spartans had never done any thing against Athens without them, nor would the Thebans now have appeared against Sparta, had they not been supported by Arcadia: that, as they had formerly promoted the interest of the one, so they were now doing the same to the Thebans; therefore, if they did not henceforth insist upon an equal share of the command in their turn with them, they would, in the end, find them

Spartans

Spartans too. This speech made such an impression upon the Arcadians, that they made no difficulty to agree to whatever he should propose, and to assure him, that there was nothing so difficult, that they were not ready to undertake. In the midst of these broils, Artaxerxes made a second attempt to reconcile the Grecian states, in order to obtain some auxiliaries from them; but his measures were broken, by the Spartans insisting on having Messenia restored to them; a demand which the Thebans absolutely refused. In the mean time, these last were not ignorant of the measures which the Arcadians were taking against them, nor wanting in their resentment, though they could easily foresee, that they would be so far from answering their sanguine expectations, that they would only excite others of their allies to desert their interest; and then the Spartans, who had received fresh reinforcements from Persia and Sicily, would fall upon them with greater fury. The event justified their foresight, when Archidamus, the son of Ageläus, gained that signal victory over them and the Argives, in which he killed ten thousand of them, without the loss of one man on his side; from which circumstance it was styled by the Spartans the tearless victory*. This signal defeat, far from being the only bad effect of their ill-timed folly and pride, brought a train of other misfortunes upon them; whilst the Thebans and Eleans (the former of whom were highly displeased at their late measures, and the latter had withdrawn themselves from them, on account of their refusing to restore some of their towns, which the Spartans had taken from them) looked upon their present disasters as a just punishment for their arrogance and perfidy.

Artaxerxes' negotiations broken.

Arcadians defeated.

During these transactions, the Thebans had raised themselves to such an height of power, as had gained them the greatest credit and influence, not only with their neighbouring states, but even among foreign princes; insomuch that they were invited to be moderators and umpires, particularly in Macedonia, where they quickly composed the quarrels about the succession; nay, at one time, they took thirty, and afterwards fifty, Macedonian youths of distinction as hostages, and, among the former, Philip, the king's brother, and father of Alexander the Great. This prodigious influence was chiefly owing to the justice and equity, as well as great abilities, of Pelopidas; for, as to

Thebans become powerful.

* Xenoph. Hellen. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. xv. Plut. in Vit. Agel. & Pelopid. Pausan. in Lacon. Just. lib. vii. Corn. Nep.

Epaminondas, he still continued in the condition of a private man; but the next expedition of the former proved the means of raising the latter to his rank and credit.

*Theſſalians
apply to
the The-
bans.
Pelopidas
ſent thi-
ther.*

*Imprifoned
by Alexan-
der.*

The Theſſalians, who had groaned ſome time under the tyranny of the uſurper Alexander, ſurnamed the Pheræan, ſent an embaffy to Thebes, to implore their aid and protection: upon which Pelopidas was immediately ſent as ambaffador, to expoſtulate with him on their behalf. He was then in Macedon; and, upon his return, marched directly to Pharfalus in Theſſaly, in order to puniſh the treachery of ſome mercenaries, who had deſerted the Thebans in that expedition; but, when he arrived, he was ſurprized to be met by the tyrant, at the head of a numerous army, before that city, whiſt his own was comparatively but a handful of men. However, whether he ſuppoſed, or would be thought to do ſo, that Alexander came hither to juſtify himſelf, and answer to the complaints alleged againſt him, he went, with Iſmenias his colleague, to him, unarmed and unattended, not doubting but his character, as ambaffador from ſo powerful a republic, joined to his own character and authority, would protect them from inſult or violence; but he found himſelf miſtaken, to his no ſmall ſurprize; and Polybius juſtly calls it an unpardonable imprudence to truſt himſelf ſo far in the power of one, whom he knew to be ſo wicked and perfidious; for Alexander had no ſooner got them in his hands, than he cauſed them to be ſeized, and ſent priſoners to Pheræ. Not content with that indignity, he ordered, that every one ſhould be admitted to ſee them, not doubting but this inſult would prove the means of breaking the ſpirit of the brave Pelopidas, againſt whom he bore an inveterate grudge; but it had a quite contrary effect, and drew upon him the following bold remonſtrance, from that unconquerable patriot: "That it was imprudent and abſurd in him to cauſe ſo many innocent and worthy citizens to be tortured and butchered, and to ſpare him, who, he knew, if ever he eſcaped out of his hands, would not fail to make him ſuffer the puniſhment due to his crimes." To which intrepid declaration, the ſurprized tyrant ſending for answer, "Why is Pelopidas in ſuch haſte to die?" he received this reply, "It is, that thou mayſt periſh ſo much the ſooner, by becoming ſtill more hateful to God and man." This laſt meſſage had ſuch an effect upon him, that, inſtead of making a ſpectacle of Pelopidas any longer, he

*His bold
meſſage to
him.*

he caused him to be more closely confined, and forbid any but his wife Thebe to see or speak to him. This lady had heard so much of his intrepid bravery and good sense, that she readily used the permission, and had several interviews with the illustrious prisoner.

Mean while the Thebans, highly resenting the indignity offered to their ambassadors, sent an army into Theffaly; but, whether through ill fortune, or ill conduct, the generals were repulsed, with great loss, by the Pheræan usurper, who, expecting some such invasion from that quarter, had taken care to put himself in a condition of giving them a warm reception. He met them, at the head of his forces, so that they found themselves obliged to retire, without performing any other exploit than giving him this fruitless proof of their resentment. Alexander continued his pursuit with such success, that they must have been totally cut off, had it not been for the conduct and valour of Epaminondas, who served among them only as a private soldier. Finding themselves in such imminent danger, which they attributed to the incapacity of their generals, they had immediate recourse to him, whose valour and experience had been so often tried; and partly by persuasions and intreaties, and partly by threats, obliged him to take the command: this step soon gave a happy turn to their affairs. He placed himself in the rear, at the head of the horse and light-armed infantry; thence wheeling about occasionally upon the enemy, charged them with such vigour, that they soon desisted from the pursuit, and allowed him to retreat without farther molestation. When the army returned to Thebes, the generals were fined twelve thousand drachms each; while Epaminondas was reinstated in the command, and sent with a new reinforcement to repair the late dishonour. The news of his being in full march on this errand, greatly alarmed the tyrant; and it was lucky for him, that the new Theban general, preferring the safety of his imprisoned colleague to all other considerations, forbore pushing hostilities to extremes, for fear of provoking the enemy to wreak all his fury on Pelopidas. He contented himself, for a while, with hovering about, and occasionally hazarding such skirmishes as should intimidate the tyrant, and bring him the sooner to make some satisfactory offers; for as to himself he thought it too dishonourable to enter into any treaty or alliance with a man who was universally abhorred, as an usurper, tyrant, and monster of cruelty. His conduct succeeded according to his wish.

An army sent to rescue him, defeated.

Epaminondas takes the command.

Marches against the Pheræan tyrant.

*Pelopidas
released,
and Epami-
nondas
restored.*

Alexander, fully convinced of the superiority of the Theban general, in all respects, was glad to accept of a truce of thirty days, and to release Pelopidas and Ismenias, on condition that he should immediately withdraw his forces, and return to Thebes. Epaminondas gained no small reputation, not only for the conduct, sagacity, and bravery with which he conducted this whole affair, but for the regard he paid to the safety of the two Theban ambassadors, and his generous behaviour to the Theban citizens, at his return, in overlooking their unjust resentment against him, and the generous use he made of that command to which he was unanimously and immediately restored: at the same time, Pelopidas, and his colleague, failed not to do all possible justice to the merit of their deliverer^a.

*Raises the
glory of the
Theban
state.*

Thebes was now raised to a sufficient height of reputation and glory, to aim, in earnest, at the sovereignty of Greece, in her turn. The principal obstacle to this project was, that the other states grew so jealous of her present greatness, as to enter into the strongest alliances and confederacies to prevent its farther growth. Not being able to procure many allies at home, they made no difficulty to seek for them abroad; and the Lacedæmonians, by setting the example, gave them a plausible pretence to follow their steps, and to procure an alliance with Persia, which, at that time, they found was ready to accept of their offers on any terms; the only question was, which of the three states should be preferred, Sparta, Athens, or Thebes. At the same time the latter proposed to their few confederates, to send, likewise, proper deputies to the Persian court, in order to support their respective interests; a measure which they readily adopted. These were the Arcadians, Eleans, and Argives; at the head of the deputation Pelopidas was sent, on the behalf of the Thebans; while the Athenians, being apprised of their design, appointed two deputies also to manage their concerns (D). These, being all arrived at the Persian court, began

*Deputies
sent to Per-
sia.*

^a Plut. in Agef. & Pelopid. Diod. Sic. & alii supra citat.

(D) Nothing more plainly shews, however, the degeneracy into which Greece was sunk by this time, from its ancient grandeur and pride; for, till now, such general deputations and congresses, at the court of Persia, had never been heard of, whatever application might have been made to it by private persons or states: for this was, in some measure, making it umpire of all their differences, and giving the Persians

began to pursue each their respective interests; but Pelopidas had, by that time, gained such credit in Asia, both by his singular address, and extraordinary exploits, that he was distinguished, in a particular manner, from all the other deputies, and received by the king with the most manifest marks of honour and esteem. At his audience, he represented to that monarch, that the Thebans, from the battle of Platæa to the present time, had constantly adhered to the Persians, whereas the Spartans had broken with them for no other cause than that they refused to join with them against Artaxerxes. He thence took occasion to remind him of their late and signal success at Leuctra, and invasion of Laconia, intimating, that the overthrow of the Arcadians and Argives was owing to their not having been assisted by the Thebans. In a word, he succeeded so well in his remonstrance, that Artaxerxes freely owned himself convinced, that the Thebans were the people on whom he could most safely depend; and, after having greatly applauded the equity of his demands, ratified and confirmed them with great readiness, to the no small mortification of the other states. The substance of them was, that the liberties formerly granted to the other towns of Greece should be confirmed; that Messenia, in particular, should continue free and independent of the jurisdiction of Sparta; that the Athenians should lay up their fleet;

Pelopidas' success at the Persian court.

Yr. of Fl.
1985.
Ante Chr.
363.

Treaty confirmed.

Persians an advantage which neither they, nor any other nation, had ever had before; though the peace of Antalcidas, in which their monarch had the greatest sway, in some measure, paved the way to it, and prepared the Grecians, in general to receive that foreign yoke: whereas, but a little before, the Persians had met with the most mortifying repulses, and Artaxerxes himself been greatly distressed, whilst the Lacedæmonians, under their king Agesilaus, were ravaging his provinces, even to the heart of his empire (1).

Sparta, therefore, was justly blamed for having laid the foundation for this dishonourable change; and for which nothing can be said in their excuse, but that their fear of being eclipsed, if not perhaps mastered, by two such powerful rivals as Athens and Thebes, had forced them upon that shameful and disadvantageous expedient: in which they were, however, so far from succeeding, especially against the latter, that they had the mortification to find it preferred to all the rest.

(1) *Iidem. ibid. Vid. Brief Parallel. La Tour in Vit. Epaminond. Stanyan, & alios.*

and that the Thebans should be considered as the ancient and hereditary friends of Persia¹.

*Persian
treaty re-
jected by
the other
states.*

This last advantage, which they gained over the other states, helped to complete the glory of Thebes, which till now had only held the second rank, and to give it the superiority over all the nations of Greece. Pelopidas had all the credit of this negociation, upon whose return the Thebans exerted themselves in making the most of their advantage. They sent orders to all the deputies of the other states to assemble at Thebes, in order to ratify the treaty concluded at the Persian court. These obeyed the citation: but when the oath was tendered to them, they expressed an uncommon surprize, and absolutely declined it; alleging, that they were sent by their principals to hear the articles read, and not to sign and swear to them; a ratification which could not take place without the knowledge and approbation of their constituents. Some of them, likewise, particularly Lycomedes, the Arcadian general, objected, that the place of congress ought not to be held at Thebes, but in Arcadia, which was the seat of war. Others objected against the partiality of the king of Persia in favour of the Thebans, plainly demonstrating that his view was not to restore Greece to its ancient liberty, but to second their ambitious designs of enslaving it: the Corinthians openly declared, that they saw no occasion for the treaty; so that the congress broke up, without any other effect than an universal discontent, notwithstanding the pains which the Thebans took, by private conferences, to court some, and awe other states into a ratification. The consequence of which efforts was, that they all followed the example of the Corinthians; and resolved, from thenceforth, to oppose, by all possible means, the growing power of the Thebans, and to defeat all their ambitious views and measures. Artaxerxes beheld their disputes and jealousies with an unexpected indifference, and refused to concern himself farther about them: indeed he could not act otherwise, without offending all the other Grecian states, who were, by this time, generally disposed to unite against him as the common enemy. The Athenians, above all the rest, had given a manifest proof of their resentment against that part of the treaty which obliged them to lay up their navy, by putting Timagoras, one of their deputies, to death, upon his return from the Persian court, as a betrayer of his country, and as having

*Athenian
deputy put
to death.*

¹ *Iidem, ibid.*

closed with Pelopidas, instead of acting in concert with his colleague. What seemed most to countenance this accusation was, his being, next to the Theban general, the most esteemed and cared for by that court, and had, with him, received the richest presents from the Persian king^k.

These discouragements might have hindered the Thebans from the farther prosecution of their designs, especially as this last attempt had so far opened the eyes of their old allies the Arcadians, Argives, and other Peloponnesian states, that they absolutely refused to act any longer in concert; but it only set them on contriving means of compulsion, since fair promises could not induce them to comply with their demand. Hitherto the Achæans had forborn taking any part in the public quarrel, and were now looked upon as the proper nation to begin with. Accordingly, Epaminondas was sent against

Epaminondas sent against the Achæans.

them, with a powerful army; and, whether they were not able to make head against him, or had been privately brought over, they easily submitted, and entered into an alliance with him, by which they engaged to act in concert with the Thebans. By these means the Arcadians soon found themselves distressed on both sides; on one by the Achæans, and on the other by the Spartans. In this dilemma, they had recourse again to their old allies the Thebans, who took occasion from thence to raise new commotions in Peloponnesus, as we have seen in the history of Sparta and Athens. Among those who suffered most on account of the Thebans, were the Phliasiens, who, by their situation, were the most exposed of all their allies, and were openly invaded by Euphron, a man of great power, who, during these disturbances, had set up a little kind of tyrannic government in Sicyon, and now engaged the Arcadians and Argives to join with him against them. They were just on the brink of being swallowed up; for they had maintained already a close siege, and defended themselves with surprising success and bravery against a powerful confederacy, by which their little city was surrounded on every side. They were, however, happily relieved by the Athenians, who sent Chares to their assistance, and obliged their enemies to relinquish the siege.

Phliasiens invaded by Euphron.

By this time the Athenians had found means to detach the Arcadians from Thebes, and to make an alliance with them: the chief promoter and manager of this measure, was Lycomedes, the Arcadian general, who was soon

Arcadians ally with the Athenians.

^k *Iidem ibid.*

*Corinthians ally
with the
Thebans.*

*Peace
made;*

after murdered, upon his return from Athens, by a party of exiles; or, as others say, by the Lacedæmonians, who invaded Arcadia on account of that alliance, and slew him, with two hundred of his men. However that be, the Athenians having, upon this new accession, made a treacherous attempt upon Corinth, of which they were the protectors, and as such had garrisoned it with their troops, obliged the Corinthians to renounce their alliance; but first of all, they made peace with the Thebans, Phliasi-ans, and some other states, on condition that each should enjoy what it possessed: even the Spartans were induced to come into this league, by the mediation of the king of Persia, who had sent a plenipotentiary to settle ~~once more~~, as it was called, the tranquillity of Greece; though, at the same time, the Lacedæmonians openly declared, that they would never listen to a peace till Messenia was restored to them, in the condition in which they had received it from their ancestors. However, they agreed to be quiet for the present, as did also the other contending parties: and this patched-up peace was called putting an end to the Laconic or Boeotian war, after it had continued about five years from the battle of Leuctra (G).

The present distracted state of Greece gave but little hopes that it would be of any continuance; neither did the principal states seem to have had any such thing in view, but to have made use of it only to gain time and opportunity to consult the best means of suppressing the growing power of the Thebans. So that the greater states saw themselves under a necessity to keep their forces in arms against them, whilst others more inconsiderable, were so involved, either as accessary in their quarrels, or principals in their own, that, by the next year, the old

(G) There is no small disagreement between the historians of those times about the dates of several of the above mentioned transactions, between the battle of Leuctra and the peace we are speaking of; though they are commonly supposed to have all happened between these two epochs, or

within the space of five years. There is likewise some dissimilitude between the facts themselves, as they are related by various authors (1), and which would carry us too far to endeavour to reconcile, could it be done with any tolerable certainty.

(1) Vide Plut. in Agefil. & Epamin. Diod. Sic. lib. xv. Xenoph. Hellan. lib. vi. & Orat. in Laud. Agefil. Corn. Nepos in Vit. Epamin. Pausan. in Lacon. Justin. lib. vi. Athen. Deipnosoph. &c.

contests broke out with as much vehemence as ever. The Arcadians and Eleans began with reviving their respective rights to the country of Triphylia (H), which had hitherto passed from the one to the other; and the latter being defeated in this last contest, were forced to apply to Sparta for assistance, whilst the former, being now supported by the Athenians, harassed the country of Elis, where they had seized on several towns. By the next year the Eleans, who were the original possessors of the the Olympic races, and the presidents over these games, were deprived of that honour by the Pisæans, who, encouraged by the Arcadians and Argives, took upon them the management of that solemnity: in the very midst of those exercises, the Eleans attacked the Arcadians and Argives in such a manner, that they had almost routed them; but being at length overpowered, they were forced to retreat to their city, though with great honour and applause from the people, who were there assembled from all parts of Greece.

*and broken.
Triphylia
invaded.*

*Pisæans
seize the
Olympic
games.*

The Thebans, in the mean time, ever attentive to what could be turned to their own advantage, used these Grecian dissensions, as a pretence for increasing their forces; and Epaminondas thought it a proper opportunity for his countrymen to make a bold effort to obtain the dominion at sea, as they had obtained it, in a great measure, at land. He made the proposal in a public assembly, and encouraged their hopes from the experience of the Lacedæmonians, who, in Xerxes's time had, with ten ships only at sea, gained the superiority over the Athenians, though these last had no fewer than two hundred. He added, that it would be a disgrace now to Thebes, to suffer two such republics to ingross the empire of so extensive an element, without an attempt, at least, for their share of it. He reminded them of their late conquests and successes, as well as of the vast treasure they had amassed, which could hardly be employed in a more noble attempt than the equipment of a powerful fleet. He observed, that if they were not yet quite so expert in maritime affairs as their neighbours, they might soon become so; and, in the mean time, they could be easily assisted by the Rhodians, Chians, and other seafaring nations:

*Thebans
aim at the
dominion of
the sea.*

(H) This small territory, between Elis and Messenia (i), which is indifferently called and contained, among other Triphylia, Triphalia, Triphylis, and Triphylos, was situated towns of lesser note, those of Samicum, Lepreum, and Hypana. on the coast of Peloponnesus,

(i) Polyb. lib. iv. cap. 77. Pausan. & alii.

*Opposed by
the Atheni-
ans.*

so that, if they were not wanting to themselves, they had now a fair opportunity of making as great, if not a greater figure at sea, than ever Sparta or Athens had made. The people unanimously embraced his proposal, not without extraordinary applause, and immediately ordered a hundred galleys to be equipped. In the mean time Epaminondas was sent to Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium, to secure these states to their interest, and get what assistance they could afford. His negotiations had all the success that could be wished for, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Athenians, and of their admiral, Laches, who was sent with a powerful squadron against him. But what more effectually thwarted all his measures, was the work that they found for him at land, and obliging the Thebans to take part in the quarrels that then reigned among their neighbours; so that whatever projects they had concerted, proved abortive for the present; and the death of Epaminondas, which happened not long after, put an effectual stop to them, as we shall see in the sequel¹.

*Plot at
Thebes dis-
covered.*

During the absence of that general, and of his colleague Pelopidas, the Orchomenians, being spirited up by some Theban fugitives, had formed a design to change the Theban government into an aristocracy; and three hundred horsemen of the former had been actually sent, to put it in execution. Their project, however, was discovered by the vigilance of the magistrates, who caused them to be seized, and put immediately to death. They next sent a sufficient force against the city of Orchomenos (E), with orders to massacre all the men, and sell the women and children for slaves; a cruel revenge, which was punctually executed; after which they razed that celebrated city to the ground. Pelopidas was then on his way to Thessaly, at the head of a powerful army, whither he had been sent to assist the Thessalians, who groaned under the tyranny of Alexander the Pheræan. They had made several brave efforts to recover their liberty, but were still overpowered by that usurper. It happened, however, that, as he was upon his march, an eclipse of the sun obliged him to stop, though contrary to his own opinion, he being above regarding such superstition; but the rest of the army being, according to the ignorance of those

*Orcho-
menos
razed.*

*Pelopidas
sent into
Thessaly.*

¹ Vide Plut. Diod. Sic. Cor. Nep. Pausan, &c.

(E) Of this city, which was to speak in the history of A-
one of the wealthiest in all chaia.
Boeotia, we shall have occasion

times, greatly alarmed at it, obliged him to submit, as they looked upon him to be chiefly concerned in that sinister omen. The augurs having confirmed the people in that notion by other signs, and pretending that the Theban sun was on the point of being eclipsed, Pelopidas having, in vain, endeavoured to dispel their fears about him, and explode their notion as ridiculous, and beneath his regard, resolved to march on, at the head of only three hundred horsemen, who attended him as volunteers. He was soon after joined by the Thessalians, and encamped in the face of the enemy, though they were far superior to him in number. A fierce engagement soon ensued, in which both sides fought with uncommon bravery. The place where the battle was fought was called Cynocéphalea, from several little hills on it, resembling dogs heads, between which extended a large plain. Both sides endeavoured, at first, to post themselves on these eminences with their foot, whilst Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy on the plain, where he routed them accordingly: but the tyrant gained the tops of the hills, where he greatly annoyed the Thessalians, who endeavoured to force those ascents; so that Pelopidas was obliged to give over his pursuit, to come to their relief. This respite immediately inspired the Thessalians with fresh courage, who began again to charge the enemy with resolution; and soon threw them into such disorder, that they were forced to give way. Pelopidas no sooner perceived the advantage, than he began to look about for Alexander, with a design of engaging him hand to hand. At length perceiving him, as he endeavoured to rally his troops, he advanced, and challenged him to decide the battle by single combat. Alexander, instead of accepting the offer, fled for shelter amidst the thickest of his guards, which the Theban general attacked with great fury. While he thus exposed his person, with more courage than discretion, he was desperately wounded by a javelin, and afterwards dispatched by the spears of the enemy. Thus fell the great Pelopidas, whose excessive eagerness to lay his enemy at his feet, made him rush precipitately on his own death (F),

*The battle
of Cynocéphalea.*

*Pelopidas
slain.*

which

(F) Pelopidas was of one of the best families in Thebes, possessed of a large fortune, which he made use of in relieving such as wanted and deserved his assistance. Epaminondas was one of the first of whom he made choice, as an object worthy of his bounty, though he never could prevail upon

which happened the first year of the one hundred and fourth Olympiad.

*Deep
mourning
for him.*

It is not easy for words to express the grief and despair which not only his brave volunteers, but likewise the Thebans, and other allies, expressed at the sight of their slain general: some of the latter, who had perceived the danger he was exposed to, came down the hill, with all possible speed, to his relief; but when they perceived,

upon him to accept of any presents; which singular modesty wrought so far upon him, that he resolved to imitate that illustrious youth, and to conform himself to a plain, frugal, and laborious life. From thenceforward, there appeared nothing either in his dress, table, or way of living, but the most unaffected simplicity, even when he was afterwards raised to the highest posts in the Theban commonwealth. Pelopidas being more attentive to the public affairs, than to his own private concerns, he very much impaired his estate, notwithstanding his plainness and economy; so that having, by that time, a great number of children to provide for, he found himself under some difficulties he had never before thought of; and when some of his friends took occasion to observe, what an useful and necessary thing money was, he only replied, that "it was so only to that man yonder;" pointing to a poor blind and lame object that stood in his view.

Plutarch tells us, that the friendship between him and Epaminondas did not begin to shew itself in so eminent a degree till the siege of Mantinea, or soon after the peace of Antalcidas; by which time Epa-

minondas, whom the service of his country forced from his private studies, gave some of the first marks of his valour and merit, and of his affection to Pelopidas. They were both at that time engaged; and their wing giving way, they stood their ground, and fought in each other's defence, till Pelopidas received a grievous wound, which made him fall among the slain, Epaminondas, though wounded likewise, and believing Pelopidas to be dead, yet chose to fall with him, rather than leave his body in the power of the enemy; and had certainly been slain in the bloody conflict, had not the Spartan king Agesipolis, with whom the Thebans were then allied, come up from the other wing, and snatched them both from imminent death.

Pelopidas was stout, active, and indefatigable, bold and intrepid, and so successful, that he never lost one battle. So well was he fixed in the hearts and affections of the Thebans, that he was chosen thirteen times governor of Bœotia, without interruption, from the time of their recovering the citadel of Cadmea, which laid the foundation for the recovery of the Theban liberty, in which he had the greatest share, as we have already seen.

that

that they were come too late, both they, and the rest of the little army, thought of nothing but how to revenge his death. They rallied, accordingly, as quick as possible; charged the enemy afresh, with such desperate fury, that they, at length, gained a complete victory. They killed above three thousand in the pursuit, besides a much greater number which they had slain on the field of battle, though they still looked upon all these advantages as too small to compensate the loss of their brave general. After the battle the Thebans lamented him in the most pathetic manner, and in the most affectionate terms, styling him their father, their protector, and saviour; whilst the auxiliaries not only bore a mournful and sympathising part, but appeared even to vie with them, in their expressions of grief and concern, and strove, by all endearing ways, to do honour to his memory. The whole army, without staying to put off their heavy armour, to unbridle their horses, or even dress their wounds, ran in crowds to the body, and heaped the spoils of the enemy about it. They cut off their own hair, and the manes of their horses; and those that retired into their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any kind of refreshment; every city through which they passed came to meet the funeral pomp, with their magistrates and priests at their head; both they and the inhabitants carrying crowns, golden armour, and other trophies, accompanied the corpse to the place of its interment, where the ceremony was performed by the Thessalians, with a pomp and splendour worthy of so great a general. These people had begged it as a singular favour of the Thebans, that they might bury him, and, in the most pressing terms, had urged as a kind of right due to them, as being the greatest sufferers in this public loss: "For," said they, "you have indeed lost a great general, and in that loss we share in common with you; but we have likewise lost all our hopes of recovering our liberty; and, under this heavy misfortune, our paying these last honours to him, may prove some small alleviation to our sorrow." Upon these considerations the Thebans were easily prevailed upon to grant their request. Soon after this event, having received some reinforcements from Thebes, they rallied their troops, in order to revenge the death of their brave general. They did not, however, appear implacable in the vengeance they took, as will appear in the sequel.

*Pompey's funeral.**Thebans defeat Alexander.*

A little

*Embassy
from Persia.*

*Congress
broke up.*

*Achaens
invaded.*

*Make an
alliance
with
Thebes.*

*Put under
its protec-
tion.*

A little before the death of Pelopidas, the Persian king sent an ambassador to Thebes, with orders sealed, to receive the oath of alliance from all the states of Greece, which was then renewed, and in which that monarch insisted upon the Thebans being comprehended; though they had been excluded from a former treaty, through the partiality of Agesilaus. The Thebans, on this occasion, received no small mortification from all the other states, whose deputies, there assembled, refused absolutely to include them in it, on the same foot and rank with Sparta: so that the ambassador insisting upon it, and refusing to accept of their oaths, unless they engaged to assist Thebes with all their power, and upon all occasions, the congress broke up, every one chusing to return to their respective homes, rather than sign the treaty. This refusal laid the Thebans under a great difficulty, it being equally dangerous to force so many nations to submit to the Persian monarch's orders, or to incur his resentment by not doing it. Epaminondas chose the mildest way, which was to save his country's honour, without exposing it too far; and contented himself with obliging the Achæans, as being the nearest to Bœotia, to enter into an alliance with them. He invaded them accordingly with a powerful army, and struck them with such a panic, that, not being able to oppose him, they sent deputies to throw themselves at his feet, and implore his mercy. He readily granted their request; and told them, that he was not come to subdue them, but to court their friendship, and assured them of his protection: the alliance was ratified on both sides; and Epaminondas returned with his army into Bœotia, without having committed the least hostility. However, as their vicinity to the Spartans made them justly apprehensive of being called to an account for that alliance, they prayed, that he would not leave them to their mercy: whereupon he appointed them Theban magistrates in most of their cities, and left numerous garrisons in them: by this wise conduct, and a feigned war, he obtained from them what they had refused in time of peace.

About the same time, the Corinthians gave such a proof of their fidelity to the Spartans, their ancient allies, as obtained them the friendship and favour of Epaminondas, and of the whole Theban state. They were then engaged in a troublesome and dangerous war against the Athenians, who attacked them both by sea and land, whilst their own troops, which had been raised in haste, were unfit to make

make head against the invaders. However, they made shift to defend their capital with great vigour and courage, and gained several considerable advantages over the Athenians: but this success made them afraid lest the enemy should call in the Thebans to their assistance; for, had these joined forces with them, Corinth must have been inevitably ruined; and they had behaved lately in such a manner to them, especially in their strenuous opposition to the Persian treaty, that they had reason to dread their resentment no less than their power. On the other hand, should they have endeavoured to obtain an alliance with them, they were in no less danger from the Lacedæmonians, who would not have failed to make them pay dear for their treachery; for the Corinthian territories being situate between those of Thebes and Sparta, they were sure, that whatever side they called to their assistance, the other would engage as fiercely against them. In this sad dilemma they were, when their accustomed policy suggested the following successful expedient.

They sent deputies to Thebes, to make some overtures of peace; which being accepted, they proposed that their allies should likewise be consulted, to the end that those that were for war might declare it, and might be authorized to pursue it; and those who were for peace might conclude and ratify the pacification. This second proposal being agreed to by the Thebans, the Corinthians sent their deputies to Sparta, to desire that republic's consent to the peace; who addressed themselves to the Spartan council in words to this effect: "You see before you, O Lacedæmonians, your friends and allies, who come to acquaint you with their intentions, and are unwilling to do any thing without your knowledge and consent. Every thing assures us, that your design is for carrying on the war: whilst we find ourselves quite exhausted, and unable to continue it, and, on that account, come to beg of you to consent, that we may make peace both with you and with the Thebans. It is your interest, as well as ours, to give us some time to breathe, and to recover our exhausted strength; for, by this means, you will engage us, as your allies, to be again serviceable to you, whenever we shall be in a fit condition for it; whereas, by obliging us to ruin ourselves by a new war, you deprive yourselves for ever of all future assistance from us." This speech had the desired effect; and the Spartans gave them

*Corinthians
sue to the
Thebans
for peace.*

*Speech to
the Spartan
council.*

them leave to make peace with the Thebans, though, at the same time, they declared, that, as to themselves, they were still under a necessity of continuing the war, till Messenia, which Thebes had deprived them of, was restored to them, just as they had received it from their ancestors.

The Corinthians lost no time to acquaint the Theban state with what they had done, and to desire the conclusion of the proposed treaty of peace; whereupon the Thebans, who had not understood them in that sense, agreed only to admit them into their alliance, but refused to make any absolute treaty. The Corinthian deputies replied, that such an alliance could not answer their end, since it would not free them from the war, which they were so desirous to shun; and that their power was confined to the concluding of a peace, without any other conditions. At the same time they gave the Thebans to understand, that the fear of disobliging their old friends and allies, the Spartans, and of exposing themselves to their resentment, was the only motive of their refusing the proposed alliance with Thebes.

Peace confirmed by Epaminondas.

This declaration operated differently on different members of the Theban council. Some selfish individuals were for casting off all friendship or regard to the Corinthians; but the noble and generous Epaminondas took occasion from it highly to applaud and extol their fidelity to their old friends, especially at this critical juncture, when their declining an alliance with the Thebans exposed them to the effects of their resentment, which they were now in no condition to withstand. This, he rightly observed to the council, was the more to be admired and encouraged by the Theban state, whose glory it was to protect the injured, and humble the oppressors, and by no means to permit a people to be sufferers for their singular uprightness and fidelity: in consequence of which, he readily granted the requested peace, not only to them, but to all their allies, who should be desirous to be included in it, and upon this only proviso, that, in case of a rupture between Thebes and Sparta, Corinth should remain neuter, and not take part with either side; a condition which the Corinthians not only complied with, but religiously observed during the whole war, that was soon after declared between those two states. But to return to Pelopidas.

News of the death of Pelopidas arrives at Thebes.

The news of his death had no sooner reached the Theban capital, but the whole city appeared in deep mourning. However, they sent a reinforcement to the army,
of

Of seven thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, as well to revenge the death of that general, as to improve the victory he had gained over the enemy; by the help of which they attacked them so furiously, that they broke, and totally defeated the shattered remains of Alexander's army. Then the tyrant was forced to sue for peace, and to accept it on such conditions as the conquerors thought fit to impose, though they were much more moderate than he deserved, or had reason to hope for, or would, in all likelihood, have obtained, had their brave general been still alive. They contented themselves with obliging him to restore all the towns he had taken from the Thes-salians; to withdraw his garrisons out of the places he had unjustly seized; and to bind himself, by an oath, to take part with the Thebans in their wars, when, and wherever they should require it: on these terms they suffered him to return in peace to his own dominions. His late misfortunes having rendered him more cruel and bloody than ever, so that his tyranny became quite insupportable, he was at length dispatched in his bed by his wife Thebe, assisted by her brothers, about seven years after his defeat. His body was afterwards dragged along the streets, trodden under foot, and left a prey to the dogs, to express a detestation of the horrid butcheries and inhuman cruelties he had been guilty of (G).

*Alexander
defeated.*

Murdered.

All this while the Thebans were watching to improve every commotion that happened, and every success they met with to forward their favourite project of increasing their power, and giving laws to Greece. Their late success in Thessaly, and the rupture between the Arcadians and Mantineans at the same time, about the consecrated money, which the former had taken out of the temple of Olympias, to pay their troops, employed against the Eleans, who called this appropriation downright sacrilege (H), besides,

*Thebans
push on
their good
fortune.*

(G) Among other instances of his cruelties, we are told, that he used to condemn some to be buried alive; others to be sewn up in bears and boars skins, and to be baited and shot at for his diversion. He had likewise surprised and massacred, in the most dreadful manner, the inhabitants of whole cities, who were in friendship

and alliance with him: but to friends and foes he was such a monster of perfidy and cruelty, that he was become hateful to all about him, and deserved a much more severe death than he met with.

(H) They did not content themselves with condemning the action as sacrilegious, but brought over several of the council

besides other discords that reigned in the different states of Greece, gave fresh encouragement to Thebes to set up for arbitress in those disputes. Those, who had embezzled the sacred money, and wanted to embroil matters, sent advice, that the Arcadians were upon the point of revolting to the Spartans, and advised them to put an immediate stop to their defection. At the same time they dispatched some private directions to a Theban officer in Tegæa, to apprehend several of their own people, as disturbers of the peace: several eminent persons were accordingly confined as prisoners of state; but soon after discharged, and loud complaints were made against such arbitrary and unjust proceedings. The officer was accused, before the Theban senate, for having intermeddled in their affairs, and endeavoured to interrupt the good correspondence between the two states. It was even insisted on by some of the Tegæans, that he should be indicted and proceeded against by his principals; whilst the more moderate sort, who foresaw the consequences that were like to attend such appeals, and that it would infallibly increase the Thebans, loudly protested against marching into their territories, and endeavoured to prevent it, but in vain. The Thebans were then become too powerful and ambitious to miss so fair an opportunity of once more getting footing in Peloponnesus, as they had long since premeditated. Epaminondas was so far from making a secret of their design, that he told the Arcadian deputies, as it was on their account that the Thebans had engaged in the war, they had acted treacherously with them in making peace with Athens without their consent; however, that when he should march into Peloponnesus to assist his friends, he would see what proofs they, the Arcadians, would then give of their fidelity. This speech did not fail to alarm them greatly, especially as it was spoken in such a magisterial style and threatening tone. Even those, who were best affected to

Epaminondas enters Peloponnesus. Answer to the Arcadians.

council of ten thousand, who had at first consented to it, not only to retract their opinion, but to protest against the deed as impious, and such as would entail a curse on their posterity. The debate was chiefly between the Mantineans and Tegæans; but it was carried to such a height on both sides, and was likely to have caused such dis-

sensions among them, that the Arcadians thought it necessary to adjust matters between the two contending parties, as well as with the Eleans; but those who had the greatest share of the money being unwilling to refund it, found means to put them into a greater confusion, by engaging the Thebans in the quarrel.

the

the Thebans, could not forbear expressing their dislike of it; and all the friends of Peloponnesus readily agreed with the Mantineans, that there was no time to be lost to use all proper means to prevent the impending storm.

Athens and Sparta being applied to, were easily prevailed upon to assist the Mantineans, and to engage in a strict confederacy against the Thebans. To prevent all disputes about the command of the army, it was agreed, that each state should have it in its own territories; which plainly shews how alarmed they were at the apprehension of a fresh invasion of the Thebans. This was a point which neither the Spartans nor Athenians would have so readily given up to the Arcadians, though these had formerly as strenuously insisted upon it, even when they were almost reduced to the last extremity, and had never been able to obtain it till now. But Epaminondas was then in full march, at the head of his Bœotian troops, with some Eubœan auxiliaries, and a body of Thessalian horse; and was to be joined by the Messenians, Argives, and several other nations, as soon as he had entered Peloponnesus. The confederate army against him had ordered their rendezvous at Mantinea, the place which, they naturally concluded, would be first attacked, as being the chief seat of those who had revolted from the Thebans. But, whilst they were securing themselves on that side, Epaminondas, who wisely considered how far this confederacy and expedition must have drained the city of Sparta of its main strength, broke up privately from Nemea, where he had lain for some time encamped, and marched all that night, with a design to have surprized that important capital; but, his project being timely discovered, as we have seen in the history of that republic, the vigilant king took care to disconcert it; so that, though the Theban general made several assaults on that city, the Spartans behaved with such intrepidity, that he was forced to retire, and turn his thoughts against Mantinea, which he judged by this time to be quite defenceless. He judged rightly, for the place was not only drained of troops, but likewise of its inhabitants, who took that opportunity, whilst the scene of war was in Lacedæmon, to gather in their harvest, and were scattered all over the country; so that he would not have met with any difficulty in gaining the town, had not the Athenian auxiliaries come unexpectedly to its relief, and repulsed him.

A confederacy formed against the Thebans.

His attempt on Sparta frustrated.

Against Mantinea.

These two last defeats greatly exasperated the Theban general, who had never till now been used to them, and

could not but foresee, that they would not only lessen his reputation with his allies, but, if not timely retrieved, would sully the glory of all his former exploits. What added to his present difficulties was, that the time allotted him for this expedition was almost expired; so that he had but a short space left to undertake some achievement which might recover his honour, and keep up the spirits of his auxiliaries, and those under his protection. He was engaged very far in the enemy's country, and perceived how narrowly they watched all his motions, and how well prepared they were to oppose him, whatever attempt he resolved upon, whether to attack them or to retreat. Under all these difficulties he considered that no time must be lost; but that he must immediately resolve upon a decisive battle, in which, if his former fortune followed him, he might at once retrieve his affairs, and make himself master of Peloponnesus; or, if that failed him, as it had lately done, he should fall honourably in the attempt. We have already given an account of the ill success of this action with respect to Epaminondas; we shall only add, that he made the wisest disposition of his troops, attacked and fought with the most intrepid courage, opened a way through the Spartan troops, and threw them into confusion, and made such a slaughter, that the field of battle was covered with their wounded and slain. But hazarding his person, with a rashness which is inexcusable in a general, he received a great number of wounds, one of which proved mortal. As he had penetrated among the thickest of the enemy, it was not without great difficulty that he was rescued by his brave Thebans, and brought alive, though speechless, into his tent. As soon as he had recovered himself, he asked his friends that were about him, what was become of his shield; which, when it was brought to him, he kissed. He next enquired which side had gained the victory, and, being answered, the Thebans, he replied, "Then all is well." Observing some of his friends bewailing his untimely death, and his leaving no children behind him, he is said to have answered, "Yes, I have left two fair daughters, the victory of Leuctra, and this of Mantinea, to perpetuate my memory." As soon as the javelin that stuck in his body was withdrawn, he expired^m.

*Battle of
Mantineia.
Epaminon-
das's va-
lour.*

*Wounded
and slain.*

*Yx. of Fl.
1986.
Ante Chr.
362.*

*Last
words.*

^m Plut. in Epaminond. Corn. Nep. in Vita Epaminond. Pausan. in Messen. & Lacon. Justin. lib. vi. cap. 7. Diod. Sicul. lib. xv.

The consequence of that noble general's fall, and of this bloody fight, in which neither side could boast any great advantage over the other, was, that both parties agreed to a cessation of arms, and parted, as it were, by consent, to take care of their wounded and slain. The Thebans, indeed, thus far gained the greater share of glory, that they renewed the fight, and, after a most desperate contest, gained the victory over those Spartans that opposed them, and rescued the body of their dying general out of their hands. However, an effectual end was put to this bloody war, and a general peace agreed on by all but Sparta; who refused it only because the Messenians were included in it^a. But, as to the Thebans, they had no great reason to boast of this dear-bought victory, since their power and glory began to decline from that time; so that it may be truly said, that it rose and set with their great general (I),

A general peace concluded.

But

^a Xenoph. ubi supra, lib. viii. Plut. Justin. Diod. Sic. &c. ubi supra.

(I) Epaminondas, in all respects, whether as a soldier, statesman, or philosopher, is allowed to have been not only the first man of his time, as Cicero justly styles him, but the greatest, perhaps, that any age or nation ever produced, being possessed of all those virtues in an eminent degree, and without any one vice or failing, which, in other great men, were neither so perfectly united, nor so wholly free from alloy. He was of one of the greatest and most opulent families in Thebes; but Polymnis, his father, had been so liberal in his education, in furnishing him with the best masters that Greece could afford, that he had quite impoverished his estate, and had hardly any other fortune to leave him, than what he had bestowed on him in this manner. Notwithstanding the honours he had enjoyed, he

scarcely left enough to bury him at his death.

What completes the high character of this excellent patriot and general, is, that his social virtues, both with respect to his country and himself, shone even with a brighter lustre than his military talents. Never man shewed a more generous disinterestedness with regard to himself, nor a more sincere and unshaken zeal for the public good. The Persians, knowing of what consequence it would be to bring him over to their interest, spared neither promises nor bribes to effect it; but were so far from succeeding, that they constantly received the most mortifying repulses. Diomedon, of Cyzicus, and the tyrant Jason, attempted to corrupt him with great sums of money, which he rejected with disdain and indignation. He would not even receive the pre-

The ill consequences of it.

But it was not Thebes alone that suffered by his loss, since we may safely add, that all Greece shared in it; for the peace, which was suddenly concluded upon it, seems

sents sent him by Arceus, although his acceptance of them was not inconsistent with virtue; nor would he allow Pelopidas to supply his necessities. The truth is, he had no relish for the luxuries of life, and being an enthusiast in patriotism, he affected the appearance of poverty, in order, by his example, to detach his fellow-citizens from all temptations to corruption.

Being one day invited to a sumptuous feast, in which he observed a profusion of every thing that was delicious and costly, he contented himself with some of the meanest fare, and would drink nothing but four wine; and being asked why he did so, answered, "For fear I should forget how I live at home." Upon such another invitation, he was so shocked at the luxury and profusion of the dishes and perfumes, that he exclaimed, "I thought you were going to offer some grand sacrifice to the gods, instead of a shameful debauch;" and went away immediately. At a grand festival, when every citizen appeared in a splendid dress, anointed with the richest perfumes; and the solemnity was to conclude with mutual entertainments, at their respective houses, in which nothing was to be spared that could promote their mirth and good cheer; Epaminondas appeared

in a plainer dress than usual, without either ornament or perfume; and, instead of feasting with any of the citizens, continued walking up and down in a pensive mood, in the public square of the city. Being asked by one of his friends, why he thus declined to partake of the public rejoicing; he replied, "I do it, that there may be at least one person to mind the safety of the city, whilst the rest are drowned in wine and mirth." By which satirical reproofs he, by degrees, so far reformed the manners of the Thebans, that they seemed to vie with one another in the emulation of his virtues.

To conclude, he was judicious and grave, but yet affable, continent, and patient of injuries, compassionate to his fellow-creatures, and so strictly just, and so sincere a lover of truth, that he would not tell a lie even in jest. He was esteemed a fine speaker, but was far from valuing himself upon that talent; for, it was observed, that nobody knew more, or spoke less, than he. Yet he did not admire the laconic style, or magisterial brevity, on which the Spartans valued themselves; but he severely rallied them for it, and told them, that, among other marks of superiority over them, he had made them lengthen their monosyllables (1).

(1) Vide Plutarch. Xenoph. Diod. Sic. & alios supra citat. Meurs. De la Tour, Palmer, & Stanyan Hist. Græc. & al. mult.

not only to have slackened the zeal of the principal states of it, but even to have thrown them, as well as the Thebans, into a perfect state of indolence and remissness; in-
fomuch that, looking now upon themselves as rid of all their fears, they gave themselves, in some measure, up to luxury and idleness, to shews, sports, and festivals; and thereby afforded the Macedonians, a barbarous and obscure nation, encouragement to make that bold attempt on the Grecian liberties, of which the reader may find an account in the history of Athens, and elsewhere. We confine ourselves, in this place, to the share which the Thebans, and other auxiliaries, bore in that war; the first was in the succours they sent to the Eubœans, by which they got footing in that island, as has been already mentioned. Its inhabitants being now divided into two factions, one party had recourse to the Athenians, and the other to the Thebans. The former, who, among other advantages, had been used to draw a considerable revenue from thence, were not a little alarmed at the progress which the Thebans had made in it; but, as they had their hands full, and could hardly maintain their jurisdiction in other parts, they did not exert themselves so vigorously as the case required, till their brave general Timotheus, with his usual eloquence, roused them into exertion. "What! said he, the Thebans in Eubœa, and you still here! They in action, and you stand deliberating! You have not yet covered the sea with your vessels! you are not running down to the pyræum! you are not yet under sail!" By these short speeches, he so shamed and stimulated the Athenians, that they had made all the necessary preparations in five days, and soon after drove the Thebans out of the island.

Thebans in Eubœa.

Driven out.

This is, probably, one of the last instances of Thebes being applied to by any states, or of her making any figure in Greece. She scarcely bore any share in the Social war; and, in the Phocian, she was one of those states that declared against that nation, and furnished their quota of troops with the Thessalians and Locrians; but they were defeated by Philomelus, the Phocian general, at the first onset. Nevertheless, having increased their troops to thirteen thousand men, they continued to make head against him, and not only for a time stopped his progress, but soon after gained a considerable advantage in a woody country. Being much superior in number, they slew a great many of his forces; and Philomelus himself lost his life. The Thebans, thinking the Phocian war at

Their decline.

Phocian war.

The History of Thebes.

*Thebans
defeated,*

an end with this general, withdrew their forces; but his brother Onomarchus, a person equally concerned in it with the deceased, being likewise fined by the Amphictyonic court in a greater sum than he could pay, put himself at the head of the Phocians; and, having obliged the Thesfalians to remain neuter, renewed hostilities against the other two, and took several places from them. The Thebans, thus invaded, were forced to take the field again, and at length stopped his career, though with great difficulty, as they had just before sent five thousand of their forces to assist Artabazus in Asia. Onomarchus, after having gained several advantages against Philip of Macedonia, was at length defeated, taken, and hanged, by that monarch; and all the other prisoners were condemned likewise to death, as guilty of sacrilege. The Phocian, or Sacred war, was, however, far from being brought to a conclusion by the death of that general, and his adherents, though, from that period, it began to take a new face, and was carried on in a different way. Phyllus, the brother of Onomarchus, a wealthy Phocian, put himself soon after at the head of their troops; and having, by dint of money, augmented his army with some thousands of auxiliaries, renewed it with fresh vigour in Boeotia; but he was so effectually worsted in three different engagements against the Thebans, that he thought fit to abandon the country, and turn his forces against the Locrians; where, though he proved somewhat more successful, yet he was soon after carried off by sickness, and succeeded by Phalecus, Onomarchus's son, then a minor, and under the tuition of Maseas; which last was likewise killed in the first engagement he had with the Locrians. From this time, the war degenerated into skirmishes and depredations; in which though the Thebans generally acquired a good share of plunder, yet they were so far exhausted by the war, that they were reduced to great straits, and forced to have recourse to the king of Persia, from whom they easily obtained the sum of three hundred talents.

*and ex-
hausted.*

By this time the Phocians had so far encroached on the treasury of the Delphic temple, that all Greece were alarmed; so that, to avoid a worse consequence, they were forced to appoint commissioners to enquire into that affair, and to punish those who had the greatest hand in the embezzlement. These deprived Phalecus of the command, though he was restored to it again, as soon as justice had been done on the other delinquents, among whom one Philo, who had been entrusted with the bulk
of

of the wealth, was condemned to be racked to death. This last, in the extremity of torture, impeached many of his accomplices, who were likewise executed, though they had restored all that was left of it in their hands (K). The Thebans were at length so exhausted by continual depredations, that, being no longer able to sustain the war to any advantage, they had recourse to king Philip, who had till now affected a kind of neutrality in their quarrels; but was not a little pleased to see the contending parties harass and weaken each other to such a degree, as would soon give him an opportunity of acting a different part. Nothing could have happened more answerable to his ambitious views, than this false step of the Thebans, nor prove more fatal not only to themselves, but to the liberties of Greece; for the Thessalians, who had been privately drawn into Philip's interest ever since his accession to the throne, were now easily prevailed upon to enter into this new confederacy. Several other Grecian states, when they found themselves oppressed by their neighbours, made no difficulty to apply to the Macedonian king, as to a common friend and protector, and seldom failed of meeting with suitable encouragement; and, though this did not happen till some time after, when he had got an absolute sway in the court of the Amphictyons, yet the Thebans are justly blamed for having been the authors of this fatal precedent, and consequently of betraying the liberties of Greece.

Have recourse to king Philip.

Ill consequences of that confederacy.

Hitherto Philip had not been engaged in this war; what he had done against Onomarchus, and his accomplices, was only under pretence of protecting the Thessalians against their oppressors: but his success against the one, and seeming generosity to the other, gained him such esteem, as easily induced him not only to enlarge his views, but to act more openly. Under pretence of marching against the sacrilegious Phocians, he attempted to gain the streights of Thermopylae, the possession of which would have opened him an easy passage into Greece. He was, however, repulsed for this time in that attempt by the Athenians, who lay most exposed to this passage, as we have elsewhere seen. But this effort failed not to

Philip's policy.

Attempt on Thermopylae.

(K) The amount of what had been taken out of the Delphic treasury, during this war, in presents, bribes, and other exigences, was computed, we are told, to have amounted to above ten thousand talents; an immense sum, and exceeding by far what Alexander the Great found afterwards in that of the Persians.

alarm

*Peace
with
Athenians.*

*Success
against the
Phocians.*

*Demosthe-
nes alarms
the Atheni-
ans to in-
vade the
Thebans.*

*Philip's
deputies.*

alarm them, and the other states of Greece; and Demosthenes, who, by this time, was grown into some reputation, had no small share in opening the eyes of the Greeks to the danger they were in from that aspiring monarch. But the war proving unfavourable to the Athenians, they found themselves obliged to sue to him for peace; which, being what he wished, he readily granted, though still, on some pretence or other, he deferred the execution of it, till he had brought his forces into Thessaly, in order to attack the Phocians, who were now supported only by the Spartans. This peace Philip, by his great largesses and munificence, procured to be made so much in his own favour, that he was suffered to pursue his measures, to seize the streights of Thermopylæ, to pour his numerous forces into Phocis, in conjunction with the Thebans, and to put an end to that long and destructive war.

These successes had, by this time, given the Macedonian monarch such footing in Greece, and such an absolute sway, especially over the Amphictyonic court, the far greater part of whom his gold had entirely gained to his interest and service, and his ambitious views became so visible, that Demosthenes was again forced to sound the alarm, and to propose to his Athenians a new confederacy against him; to which they readily agreed. The Thebans, now become so considerable, were the first invited into this new alliance. The Athenian orator offered himself to be one of the deputies, to prevail upon them to accede; and was accordingly sent on that important errand. Philip, on the other side, no less emulous to keep them in his interest, sent thither his own deputies, the principal of whom was Python, a Byzantine by birth, who had been lately made a free citizen of Athens, but since gained over by that monarch. These, being allowed to speak first, failed not to display their rhetoric in favour of the Macedonian king, and to recapitulate to the Thebans the singular advantages which their alliance with him had procured to their state, and the many signal favours they had received from him; reminding them, at the same time, of the frequent provocations and injuries they had suffered from the Athenians. They made use of several other motives to confirm them in their friendship with the Macedonians, such as the great prospect of plunder which Attica would yield them; this they said would be of greater advantage to them than having their own country made the scene of a bloody war,

war, which must prove infallibly the case, if they presumed to ally themselves with the Athenians. They concluded with proposing the alternative, whether they would join Philip in his invasion into Attica, give him a free passage to Bœotia, or be the first that should feel the effects of his resentment for their ungrateful defection.

The Thebans felt the weight of all these arguments, as well as the danger to which their declaring on either side would expose them, and against which they were but poorly prepared, having still a lively remembrance of the miseries they had endured, especially as they still smarted from the wounds they had received in the Phocian war. Upon these considerations, they shewed so little inclination to concur with either part, that nothing less than the eloquence of Demosthenes could have determined them to lay aside all fear, and expose themselves to the dangers of a new war. When this great orator, who spoke next, came to display his talents, and to set Philip's ambitious views in a true light; to shew them the necessity of acting against him as the common enemy of Greece; when he instanced his lately seizing the city of Platæa, with the manner of his doing it, and demonstrated how it would fare with Thebes and Bœotia, should that monarch so far succeed as to subdue Attica; and that he would never desist till he had brought all Greece under his yoke; the Thebans were so effectually alarmed at their own and the public danger, that they could scarcely contain themselves. The energy of his discourse roused them to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that they immediately declared against their late ally and protector, and readily entered into the proposed confederacy at all adventures. We have seen the ill success of it in the Athenian history, to which we refer our readers: we shall only add, that it soon after brought on the famous battle of Cheronæa, which was won by the Macedonians, and in which the Thebans, who were in the right wing, behaved with their usual bravery, till Alexander, king Philip's son, fell desperately upon their sacred legion, and cut them all in pieces.

Demosthenes' speech.

Thebans ally with Athens.

Sacred legion cut off.

Upon the defeat of the confederates, Philip, though he treated the Athenians with great moderation, yet expressed such resentment against the Thebans, for renouncing his alliance, that he used them like traitors and criminals. Though the peace was on the point of being renewed, he not only made them pay dear for the ransom of their prisoners,

Philip's revenge on the Thebans.

The History of Achaia.

soners, but even for leave to bury their dead. He afterwards found a way, either by the sword, banishment, heavy fines, or other severities, to drive from the city and state of Thebes, the principal men, who had been most zealous in opposing his interest, and to seize their estates; by which means he so intimidated the rest, that the greatest part of them became entirely his creatures. His next step was to recall those who had been banished for sacrificing their country to his interest. These he promoted to the highest posts in the government and magistracy, and granted them, besides other large gratuities, the power of life and death over those who had been the chief promoters of their banishment. By these severities, he secured to himself an arbitrary power over them; and, having moreover obliged them to receive a Macedonian garrison into their citadel, he ratified the peace with them and the Athenians. These were some of the fatal consequences of their alliance with that foreign and ambitious monarch, in which, if they suffered more than the other Grecian states, they could blame none but themselves, since they laid the foundation of all the disasters to which Greece was now, and afterwards exposed.

S E C T. II.

The History of the several States of Greece, from the beginning of the Achaean League to its Dissolution.

The History of Achaia.

ALL Greece, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to the three states of Achaia, Aetolia, and Athens. There were, it is true, at this time, several other republics in Greece; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction sometimes with one and sometimes with another of the more powerful states just now mentioned, their histories are so interwoven with those of the greater republics, that, to deliver them separately, would be only swelling the work with needless repetitions. The name of Achaia was used by the ancients in three different senses. In the earlier ages it comprehended all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, strictly speaking, call Greece; that is, Attica, Megaris, Boeotia, Phocia, Bœotia, the territory of Thebes, Aetolia, and

and Doris. In after-ages it was confined to that country in Peloponnesus which was possessed by the Achæans, and extended along the bay of Corinth, and the Ionian sea, from the confines of Sicyon to the territory of Elis. In the Roman times the name of Achæia comprised not only all Peloponnesus, but such other cities beyond the Isthmus as had entered into the Achæan league; upon the dissolution of which all Greece was, by a decree of the Roman senate, divided into two provinces, viz. that of Macedonia, containing Macedonia and Thessaly; and that of Achæia, which comprised all the other states of Greece. We have already described the country; and shall therefore now proceed to the history of a people, who not only maintained their own liberties amidst innumerable tyrants, but restored most of the Greek cities to their ancient freedom.

Achæia, originally of small account, rose, by degrees, to such a height of reputation and prosperity, as to rival, and even eclipse, the most powerful states of Greece. This great increase of power was not owing either to the vast numbers, or extraordinary valour, of its inhabitants, but solely to its wholesome laws, and happy constitution; for the Achæans, after having shaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themselves, on the plan of a democracy, a new system of government, which, obtaining by degrees, in all the cities of their small republic, united them into one body, and, at the same time, left them in full possession of their respective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus all the Achæans were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the same laws; but moreover had the same money, weights, and measures; the same magistrates, council, and judges; and, in short, every thing so uniform, that all Achæia seemed but one city. This concord invited many of the Peloponnesians to embrace their form of government, and accede to the Achæan alliance; while, in the mean time, the authors of this institution reaped no advantage by their accession; for no sooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the rest. Neither was the same of their wise laws, and mild government, confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponnesus, but even reached the Greek colonies in Italy; where the Crotoniates, the Sybarites, and the Cauloniaties, agreed to adopt the Achæan laws, and form

of

of government • (L). The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their impartial justice and equity, that they chose them, after the famous battle of Leuctra, to compose some differences that were still subsisting between them. The contending parties were not induced to refer their differences to the arbitration of the Achæans by any argument of their greatness or power, there being no state, at that time, in all Greece, that was not superior to them in both these respects; but merely in consideration of their justice and probity, which had acquired them a general good opinion.

This form of government continued from the expulsion of Gyges, the last king of Achaia, to the time of Alexander the Great; upon whose death, this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, each city pursuing their private interest, to the prejudice and destruction of their neighbours. As these dissensions and emulations were artificially sown, and carefully fomented, by the Macedonian princes, so they failed not to take their advantage of them; for Demetrius, Cassander, and Antigonus Gonatus, seizing on some of their cities, obliged them to receive the Macedonian yoke. In this unhappy situation, they changed masters as often as Macedonia changed sovereigns; and were enslaved by tyrants of their own, who, as they espoused the Macedonian interest, so they were supported with the whole strength of that kingdom.

Yr. of Fl.
2068.
Ante Chr.
280.

The Achæan league revived.

The Achæans, accustomed to live according to their own laws, and to enjoy liberty and freedom, could not brook so slavish a subjection; and therefore, in the one hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad, which was coin-

Polyb. lib. ii. Pausan. in Achaic. Polyb. & Pausan. ubi supra.

(L). Polybius tells us, that with such success, that all those great disturbances arising among the Greek cities, in that part of Italy which was called Magna Græcia, ambassadors were dispatched to them from all parts of Greece; but that the council only of the Achæans was chosen to cure those great evils, and compose the dissensions; which they did cities, by common consent, agreed to imitate them, and to form themselves according to the example of the Achæan republic. Whereupon, uniting in one body, they built a temple to Jupiter Homorius, appointing that place for the congress of their general assemblies.

cident

cident with the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, they began to revive their ancient union, and return to their former association. The inhabitants of Patra and Dyma set the first example of this happy change; five years after, those of Ægium, having driven out the Macedonian garrison, acceded to the alliance. The inhabitants of Bura followed their example, having first killed their prince or tyrant; and, soon after, those of Ceraunia incorporated their city into the same Achæan body, Iſeas, their tyrant, resigning the dominion, upon promise of indemnity for what was passed.

The cities we have mentioned were the first that revived the ancient association, continuing, for the space of twenty-five years, to maintain the same form of government, without being joined by any others: but, at last, the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a sincere zeal for justice and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew several neighbouring cities to join them. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner, being induced thereunto by Aratus (M) the Si-

(M) Aratus, a native of Sicyon, played, on this occasion, a noble part on the stage of action, which rendered his name famous all over Greece. Sicyon, having long mourned under the yoke of her domestic tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by devolving the power on Clinias, the father of Aratus, one of her best citizens. The government began to flourish, and assume a new form, under his wise conduct, when Abantidas found means to disconcert his measures, and take the whole power into his own hands. He killed Clinias, and with him all those who stood up for the liberties of their country; and would have likewise destroyed Aratus, who was then but seven years old, had not the infant escaped, with some others, amidst the disorders and confu-

sion that filled the house when his father was killed. As he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered the house of the tyrant's sister, with a design to conceal himself there till the tumult should be over; for he knew not to whom it belonged. The tyrant's sister, being persuaded that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos, where he was educated with the utmost care by some hospitable friends of his father. The new tyranny had passed through several hands, when Aratus, being come to man's estate, began to entertain thoughts of rescuing his country from the oppression it groaned under. He was greatly respected, both for

Sicyonian, who, at the age of twenty years, rescued his country from tyranny, and restored his fellow-citizens to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his country in the Achæan league, he took, by surprize, Acro-Corinth (N), and also the city

for his birth, and the many excellent qualities which he began already to display on several occasions. The Sicyonian exiles, discovering in him an early aversion to tyrants, began to cast their eyes upon him, as a person destined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture; for Aratus had scarce attained the twentieth year of his age, when he formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant of Sicyon at that time. He pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that, notwithstanding the tyrant kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city, by night, before Nicocles had any notice, or even suspicion, of his design. However, he had the good luck to make his escape, leaving Aratus in possession of the city. Next morning, the people being assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, an herald proclaimed with a loud voice, "that Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their ancient liberty." These joyful words were no sooner heard, than the whole multitude, with repeated shouts, and loud acclamations, flocked to the tyrant's palace, and

butnt it down to the ground in a few minutes. Thus was Sicyon delivered from its tyrants, without the loss of one single man on either side; for Aratus commanded his followers to abstain from slaughter, saying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. He then united Sicyon in the Achæan league, strengthening it with all the forces of his country, and entering himself among the cavalry, for the service of that state. (1).

(N) The isthmus of Corinth unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus. The citadel of Corinth, known by the name of Acro-Corinth, was situated on a high mountain, between those two continents, which are there divided by a very narrow neck of land, so that this fortress cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the isthmus, and can awe, if well garrisoned, all Greece; for which reason, Philip of Macedon used to call it the fetters of Greece.

This fortress Antigonus had taken by surprize, with a design to enslave all Peloponnesus; but Aratus wrested it out of his hand, by an action equal, in the opinion of Plutarch, to the most celebrated enterprises

(1) Plut. in Arat.

city of Megara, from the Macedonians, uniting them both to the Achæans. The cities of Trœzene, Epidaurus,

of the ancient heroes of Greece. After he had been long meditating by what means he might gain that important place, he was, by accident, furnished with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

One Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of Sicyon, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened one day to be the subject of their conversation, Erginus told his friend, that, in going to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to that part of the hill where the wall of the fortress was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, asked his friend, with a smile, whether he and his brother were desirous to make their fortunes? Erginus understood him, and promised to sound his brother on that head. A few days after, he returned to Sicyon, and engaged with the banker to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high; adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprize. Aratus promised, on his part, to reward them with sixty talents, if the affair should succeed; but as he was not master of such a sum, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife's jewels, to the banker,

as a security for the promised reward.

Aratus having thus engaged the two brothers, the troops were ordered to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, furnished them with scaling-ladders, and led them to one of the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a steep rock within the city. They scaled the walls without being observed, Erginus having, with the assistance of his brother, and some others that were gained over by him, killed the centinels that were there upon duty. As they were marching in great silence through the city, they met with a small guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who, making his escape, alarmed the city: but Aratus, notwithstanding the alarm, continued his march; and arriving at the foot of the rock, on which the fortress stood, began to climb up at the head of his men; but missing the path, occasioned by a thick fog, which rose from the sea at their first entering the city, Aratus was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed; all the streets, and even the ramparts, blazed with innumerable lights; and the trumpets sounded to arms on all sides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog cleared up; and the moon, returning to shine with the same brightness as before, discovered the intricate windings of the track,

rus, and Megalopolis, were likewise prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their fellow-citizens⁹. The tyrants of the Argives, of the Hermionians, and the Phliansians, following their example, were likewise received into the alliance.

Constitution of the Achaean league.

As these glorious successes raised the reputation of the Achaean league, so they created no small jealousy in the

⁹ Polyb. *ibid.* Plutarch. in Arato.

which he followed at the head of an hundred of his boldest men, and arrived with difficulty at the spot which had been described to him: but he found the garrison, which was by this time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately dispatched Erginus to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While these were waiting at the foot of the rock, drawn up in a close body, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, appeared at the head of a considerable band, with a design to mount the hill, and attack Aratus in the rear. The three hundred Sicyonians, at his approach, concealed themselves among the rocks; but he was no sooner past than they started out, and attacked him with such resolution, that he was soon put to the rout. This action was scarce over, when Erginus arrived, and acquainted them, that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate assistance. Upon this notice, the victorious troops, conducted by Erginus, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their

approach with loud shouts, to animate their friends, and strike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their shouts, doubled by the echoes among the rocks, and hollow places, in the midnight silence, made them appear far more numerous than they really were. The enemy retired after a faint resistance from the wall, and left Aratus master of the citadel. In the mean time the rest of the troops arriving from Sicyon, were not only received with open arms, but assisted by the Corinthians in seizing all the Macedonians that were in the city.

Aratus having secured the citadel, went from thence to the city; and, having assembled the people in the theatre, acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achaean league, and exhorted them to accede to it. They unanimously agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon Aratus restored to them the keys of the city, which, till then, had never been in their power since the time of Philip the father of Alexander (3).

(3) Plutarch. in Arat.

neighbour-

neighbouring states : but, before we proceed to the wars which they were soon involved in, by their jealous and restless neighbours, we shall give a succinct account of their happy constitution. All the cities subject to the Achæan league were governed by the great council, or general assembly, of the whole nation. To this assembly, or diet, each of the confederate cities had a right to send a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. In consequence of this institution, no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interests of each particular city so consulted as to leave no room for complaints. As the supreme and legislative power was lodged in the assembly, it was constantly convened twice a year, in the spring and autumn, but seldom at any other season, unless upon some very urgent occasion. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of vacant employments, declared war, made peace, and concluded alliances. If any city of the league did not acquiesce in the determinations and ordinances of the diet, or refused to furnish their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to submit. The chief magistrate of the league, called by the Greeks, *strategos*, and by the Latins *prætor*, was chosen in the general assembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both civil and military, it being the prætor's province to preside in the diet, and command the army. They chose, at first, two prætors, but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one ; and the first who enjoyed that dignity alone, was Marcus the Carian, who was succeeded by the famous Aratus. The prætor, and other magistrates, were appointed in the vernal assemblies, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. The former was vested with great power, especially in time of war, but, at the same time, liable to be called to an account by the general assembly, and punished, without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of crime or misdemeanor. The *demiurgi* were next in power to the prætor, and therefore styled by Polybius and Livy, the supreme magistrates of the Achæans. They were ten in number, chosen by the general assembly from the eminent men of the whole league for prudence, equity, and experience. It was their office to assist the prætor, who was to propose nothing to the assembly, but what had been previously approved of by the major part of the *demiurgi*. In the prætor's absence, the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them ;

and, in some extraordinary cases, they were impowered to summon the general assembly.

*Some of
their laws.*

Few of their laws have reached our times; however, from the writings of the ancients, we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiously observed while the republic continued in a flourishing condition: 1. That an extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign ambassadors, unless they first notified in writing, to the prætor and demiurgi, the subject of their embassy. 2. That no city, subject to the league, should send an embassy to a foreign prince or state, without the consent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the assembly should accept presents from foreign princes, under any pretence whatsoever. 4. That no prince, state, or city, should be admitted into the league, without the consent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general assembly should never sit above three days. These laws have been explained at length, and illustrated with many useful observations, by a modern writer of no mean character, to whom we refer the reader, and resume the thread of our history.

The Ætolians, conceiving no small jealousy at the growing power and success of the Achæans, began to instil the same into the neighbouring states, with a view of breaking the union of those cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The sense of the benefits which they had received from the friendship of the Achæans, during their war with Antigonus, prevented them from openly declaring war against their benefactors. However, they used every means in their power to rouse the Lacedæmonians, and engage their king Cleomenes in a war against the Achæans; in which endeavours they succeeded to their wish; for Cleomenes, at their instigation, having built a fortress in the territory of the Megalopolitans, called Athenæum, the Achæans interpreted that step into an open rupture, and declared, in a general assembly, that the Lacedæmonians should be reputed enemies. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the Cleomenic war (O).

Yr. of Fl.

2115.

Ante Chr.

233.

*The Cleo-
menic
war.*

* Martini Shooockii Respub. Achæor. & Veient.

* Idem ibid.

(O) Plutarch relates the occasion of this war in a quite different manner. Vide Plutarch, in Cleom.

troops

troops to take the field, under the conduct of Cleomenes, who, coming up with the Achæans near Pallantium, offered them battle; but, Aratus declaring against an engagement, Aristomachus, the Achæan general, made a retreat; which drew severe reproaches upon Aratus, both from his countrymen, and from the enemy, whose army did not amount to five thousand men; whereas that of the Achæans consisted of twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse^t. Not long after this event, the two armies met again, when the Achæans were defeated; but Aratus having rallied in the flight what troops he could find, marched strait to Mantinea; and, before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that important place. This advantage was soon counterbalanced by the loss of another battle, wherein great numbers of the Achæans were slain, with Lisiades their general, while they were pursuing, with too much eagerness, and in disorder, the Lacedæmonians, who had feigned a retreat. After this victory, Cleomenes advanced into the territories of Megalopolis, where his troops committed great devastations, and obtained a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and plays to be exhibited in the sight of the enemy, not that he had any satisfaction in such shews and diversions, but only with a view to convince the Achæans, that he despised them, and was sure of victory, against so contemptible a foe^u.

The Achæans, reduced to the last extremity, and under apprehension of being enslaved by the Lacedæmonians, if they should be joined by the Ætolians, who, at that time, were making great preparations for war, entertained thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms; but Aratus, dreading the consequence of a treaty between his dispirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, used his utmost efforts to divert them from it, and, at the same time, had recourse to an expedient which no ways redounded to his honour: this was, to engage Antigonus king of Macedon in this war against the Lacedæmonians; a measure which opened a way to the Macedonians into Greece.

Aratus knew, that Antigonus had cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was sensible, that princes measure amities and enmities by the rules of interest: however, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being aware, that Cleomenes

Yr. of Fl.
1131.
Ante Chr.
227.

The Achæans invite Antigonus into Greece.

^t Plutarch. in Cleom.

^u Plut. ibid.

and the Ætolians would oppose it, and that the Achæans would have reason to despair, if their general applied to their enemy; he therefore resolved to prosecute his purpose with such caution as to leave no room for suspicion, and to carry on his measures so as to keep them undiscovered. He was not ignorant, that the Megalopolitans, by their neighbourhood to the Lacedæmonians, were most exposed to the incursions of the enemies; and, consequently, as they were inclined to the house of Macedon for the many favours they had received at the hands of Philip, son of Amyntas, they would resort for succour to Antigonus, and the Macedonians. Having therefore gained over to his scheme Nicophanes and Cercidas, two principal citizens of Megalopolis, well qualified for conducting the enterprize, by their means he induced the Megalopolitans to send ambassadors to the assembly of the Achæans, begging leave to solicit succours from Antigonus. Nicophanes and Cercidas were sent to the Achæans, with orders to proceed to Antigonus, if they approved the proposition. The general assembly, having given audience to the ambassadors, and reflecting that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual succours, assented to their proposal, and granted them leave to pursue their orders. When they received audience of Antigonus, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words; but enlarged, pursuant to the instructions of Aratus, on the imminent danger to which the king would be exposed, should the alliance which was then talked of, between the Ætolians and Cleomenes, take place. They represented to him, that if the united forces of those two states should gain over the Achæans the advantages they expected, the ambition of Cleomenes, and the Ætolians, would never be satisfied with the conquest of Peloponnesus, but would aspire to the empire of Greece, which they could not compass without first destroying the Macedonian monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the safest counsel for him to take, whether to succour the Achæans, in opposition to Cleomenes, and defeat his ambitious designs, or, by neglecting the occasion of gaining the friendship of so great a people, become liable at last to sustain a war in Thessaly, for the empire of Macedon, not only with the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians, but with the Achæans. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians continued their neutrality, the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces; but if,

on

on the other hand, the Ætolians should join the enemy, they must then intreat him to prevent, with timely succours, the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They likewise took care to insinuate, that Aratus would give such security for his fair proceeding, and sincere intentions, as should be satisfactory to both parties; and that he would take upon himself to demand assistance when he should think it needful.

Antigonus approved of all these representations, and, with great pleasure, laid hold of the opportunity of engaging in the affairs of Greece. He likewise wrote an obliging letter to the Megalopolitans, assuring them of his assistance whensoever the Achæans should call for it. The ambassadors having acquainted Aratus with the good disposition of Antigonus towards the Achæans, he was not a little pleased to find his project succeed so well. He wished, indeed, to have had no occasion to call in foreign aid; and, though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, yet, to avoid the blame that might redound to the authors of such measures, he took care they should appear as concerted by the Achæans without his privity. The Megalopolitans having acquainted the Achæans with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of Macedon, and sent the letter of Antigonus to be read in the general assembly, most of them were for inviting that prince to march his army into Peloponnesus without farther delay; but Aratus, standing up, made a long speech, exhorting them to try first, whether they could support themselves with their own forces; adding, that if, after all their efforts, fortune should declare against them, it would then be time enough to have recourse to their friends. His advice was approved by the whole assembly; and it was then concluded, that the Achæans should employ their own forces only in the prosecution of the war ^v.

Antigonus complies.

The war proved very unsuccessful for the Achæans, who, being often worsted by Cleomenes, were obliged to abandon the field, and retired into their strong holds. Neither were these able to stop the career of the conqueror, who, in one campaign, took the cities of Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phlionte, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, and Corinth itself. These successes allowed the Achæans no farther time to deliberate; and accordingly

^v Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in Cleom. & Arat.

*Antigonus
arrives in
Greece.*

Aratus, at their intreaties, dispatched his son to Antigonus, inviting that prince to come, with all speed, to their assistance; and assuring him that, on his arrival, Acro-Corinth should be put into his hands. Antigonus immediately began his march towards Peloponnesus, at the head of twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse; and, arriving at the Isthmus, encamped opposite to Cleomenes, who had fortified, with a ditch and rampart, the whole space between Acro-Corinth and the Onion hills. As Antigonus did not think it advisable, or even practicable, to force his way through, and had not a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist his army till the Achæans joined him, he was preparing to decamp, and transport his troops by sea to Sicyon. But, in the mean time, a messenger arriving at the camp, acquainted Aratus, who was come to meet Antigonus, that the inhabitants of Argos had revolted from Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. In consequence of this intelligence Aratus, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put to sea, and, arriving at Epidaurus, marched from thence to Argos, and made himself master of the city and castle, after having defeated, in a skirmish, the partizans of Cleomenes, and killed Megistones, who had been detached from the army to their relief*. This success proved of great consequence to the Achæans, and gave rise to the prosperity of their allies; for Cleomenes, hearing that Argos was taken, and being apprehensive that the enemies would surround him, abandoned his lines, and retired with great precipitation, first to Argos, and then to Mantinea. He appeared before Argos quite unexpected, and entered the city; but could not keep it, the citadel being in the hands of Aratus, and Antigonus pursuing him close with all his forces.

*Makes
himself
master of
several
places.*

Antigonus having thus entered Peloponnesus, without the loss of a man, advanced to Corinth, which immediately surrendered, and thence to Tegæa, Mantinea, Orchomenos, Hærea, and Telphussa; all which places, terrified at the approach of the Macedonians, either voluntarily submitted, or made but a faint resistance. Winter drawing near, he sent home his troops, and went himself to Ægium, to assist at the general assembly of the Achæans; where, after having acquainted them with the motives of his appearance, he was chosen general of the confederate army, and the important castle of Acro-Corinth was, by a decree of the council, put into his hands.

* Plut. in Arat. & Cleom. Polyb. ubi supra.

In the mean time Cleomenes, receiving advice that Antigonus had sent home his army, while he himself continued at Ægium, formed a design of surprizing the city of Megalopolis, then become very considerable, and not inferior, in power and extent, to Sparta. As the garrison was not very strong, nor the guards very strict in their duty, since Antigonus was near at hand, and the enemy weakened with frequent losses, Cleomenes imagined he might easily enter the town in the night, provided he could gain some of the inhabitants over to his interest. He accordingly applied himself to certain Messenians, who, having been banished their country, had taken sanctuary in Megalopolis: being conducted by these, he arrived at the city by night, scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without the least opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, whither Cleomenes sent a herald to acquaint them, that he would restore them to the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and join the Lacedæmonians. But they chose rather to be divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than violate the fidelity they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. This refusal highly enraged Cleomenes, who immediately gave up the town to be plundered, sent all the statues and pictures to Sparta, demolished the houses, threw down the walls, and committed so many outrages, that he left not so much as any appearance that it had ever been inhabited.

Megalopolis taken and destroyed.

Antigonus having sent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, Cleomenes assembled his forces early in the spring, with design to put in execution a project which, in opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and despair; but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As the Macedonians were dispersed in their winter-quarters, and Antigonus enjoying himself with his friends at Argos, without any other forces but a few mercenaries, Cleomenes, taking the field, made an irruption into the territories of Argos, laying waste the country to the very gates of the city. What he proposed in this enterprize was, to bring Antigonus to an engagement, which, in all probability, he would have

Cleomenes endeavours to bring Antigonus to a battle.

† Plut. & Polyb. *ibid*,

lost;

lost; or, if he declined it, to lessen his reputation among the Achæans, and raise complaints against him chiefly in the city of Argos. This project succeeded according to his expectation. The Argians, seeing their country ravaged and laid waste under the king's eyes, while he continued inactive, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gates; and, with threats, pressed him either to take the field, and protect his friends, or resign the command of their troops to those who were less timorous than himself. But Antigonos was deaf to all their reproaches and remonstrances. Notwithstanding the many reflections that were publicly cast upon him, he kept within the walls of the city, and tamely beheld the enemy insulting him at the gates. Thus Cleomenes, having frightened the enemy, and inspired his own men with new courage, returned, loaded with booty, to Sparta. In the beginning of the summer Antigonos, being desirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeservedly lost among the Achæans, took the field with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and advanced into Laconia.

Cleomenes, not doubting but the enemy would soon visit him, took care to guard all the passes with strong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up, and barricadoing the roads with large trees laid across. He marched himself, with a body of twenty thousand men, and encamped at a certain place, called Sellasia, having reason to suspect that the enemy proposed to pass that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This pass was formed by two mountains, the one called Eva, the other Olympus. Between these runs the river Oenus, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good entrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted the auxiliaries on the eminence of Mount Eva, under the command of his brother Euclidas, while he encamped on Mount Olympus, with the Spartan troops and the mercenaries. The cavalry drew up along the banks of the river, sustained by a body of mercenary foot. When Antigonos arrived, and viewed the situation of the ground, with the fortifications and defences that Cleomenes had made, and observed with how much judgment he had posted his troops, he did not think it advisable to attack him; but encamped, at a small distance, on the banks of the Gorgulus, which covered part of his army. There he remained some days, the better to acquaint himself with the situation of the different posts, and the disposition

sion of the enemy. He often marched round their camp, feigning to attack them, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but finding every post well guarded, and Cleomenes watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemy's camp, and retired to his own, which was equally secured against all attempts. Both armies having remained thus on the defensive for some days, without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals, at last, agreed on a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend what could induce Cleomenes to such a resolution: he was posted very advantageously; his troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was supplied with all sorts of provision from Sparta, with which city he had a free communication: what then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon? Polybius tells us², that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had promised to assist him in this war, informed him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him, at the same time, to come to an accommodation with Antigonus, and the Achæans. As he was, therefore, incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no prospect of any supplies from foreign states, we may suppose, that the desperate posture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

Both armies being drawn up, and the signals given, Antiochus detached a body of Illyrians against Euclidas, who was posted on Mount Eva; but, while they were ascending the hill, some light-armed troops of the enemy advancing, charged them in flank, while Euclidas, who was on the top of the hill, pressed them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. Philopœmen, who then served in the army as a volunteer, observing what danger the Illyrians were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but they not hearkening to him, as he was but very young, and had not yet borne any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a small body of Megalopolitans, his countrymen, the enemy's horse, and obliged them to give ground. This attack forced the mercenaries, who had fallen on the Illyrian rear, to hasten to the relief of the cavalry; for Cleomenes had posted them at first near the cavalry, on purpose to support and cover them. The Illy-

Yr. of Fl.
2125.
Ante Chr.
223.

*The battle
of Sellasia.*

*Philopœ-
men distin-
guishes him-
self in this
action.*

² Polyb. lib. ii.

rians being thus disengaged, resolutely marched up the hill against Euclidas, who, instead of moving towards the enemy, and thereby improving the advantage of the shock, which the descent of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was first posted. The Illyrians, having gained the top of the hill without any opposition, now advanced against Euclidas on even ground, and attacked him with such resolution, that he was obliged to abandon the summit, and retire to the rocks and precipices, where he was soon defeated, and most of his men cut in pieces. This success against Euclidas was entirely owing to Philopœmen, as Antigonus himself acknowledged: for, after the battle, having asked the officer that engaged the enemy's horse, how he came to fall upon them before the signal; and the officer excusing himself, by saying, that a young man of Megalopolis had done it without his direction; the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander, and gained the victory; but that he had acted like a raw soldier^a.

During this variety of action, the cavalry of both armies had likewise engaged on the plain by the river. The Achæans behaved with uncommon bravery, being sensible that this battle would decide their fate. Philopœmen distinguished himself above the rest; for, his horse being killed under him, he afterwards fought amongst the foot, killing, with his own hands, great numbers of the enemy, till he was, with a javelin, struck through both thighs.

But the sharpest encounter was on Mount Olympus, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, consisting of about five thousand on each side. As they fought under the eyes of their princes, every man strove to signalize himself, and perform something worthy of such spectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either side; but, at last, Cleomenes receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehensive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it adviseable to level all the entrenchments before his camp, and order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets, therefore, having sounded the signal for the light-armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both sides with equal

^a Polyb. lib. ii.

animosity; but the Lacedæmonian phalanx, not being able to sustain the shock of the double Macedonian phalanx, gave ground, and soon fell into the utmost confusion. The overthrow then became general; the Lacedæmonians were every where cut in pieces; and those who found means to make their escape, fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with a small party of horse, retreated to Sparta, whence he departed the night following to Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel that attended him, according to his directions, and sailed to Alexandria, accompanied by a small number of his intimate friends^b. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops in both armies were slain in this engagement; and that, of five thousand Lacedæmonians, two hundred only survived the action.

*Cleomenes
defeated.*

Cleomenes had scarce set sail, when Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of it without resistance; for Cleomenes had advised the citizens to receive Antigonus, assuring them, at the same time, that, whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had disarmed his resentment. He added, that nothing could render his memory so glorious in future ages, as to have it said, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to conquer it. Having, in this courteous manner, addressed the citizens, he declared them free, and restored them to the full enjoyment of their ancient privileges. He shewed an inclination to continue some time among them; but was obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occasioned by the intelligence he received, that the Illyrians had invaded Macedonia, and were committing dreadful ravages. If Cleomenes had delayed giving battle three days only, or had fortified himself in Sparta, and held out for so short a space of time, he would have preserved his dominions. From Sparta Antigonus marched to Tegeæ; which city he likewise declared free; and from thence to Argos, where the general assembly of the Achæan confederacy was then sitting. There he was thanked by the deputies of each city of the Achæan league, and, by a decree of the council, declared protector of

*Antigonus
enters
Sparta.*

*And leaves
it free.*

^b Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in Cleom.

Achaia. From Argos he proceeded, by long journeys, to Macedon, where he gained a signal victory over the Illyrians; but, on that occasion, straining his voice to animate his men, he burst a vein; and, having voided a great quantity of blood, fell into an ill state of health, which soon deprived him of life^c. Thus ended the Cleomenic war, leaving all Greece in a profound tranquillity.

*The war
of the con-
federates.*

But the Ætolians were soon weary of peace, which obliged them to live honestly, and abstain from plunder and rapine. They had no sense of friendship or alliance, accounting all those as enemies whom they could prey upon, and believing they had a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of Antigonus, the fear they were under, lest he should fall upon them, kept them in awe. But he was no sooner dead, and Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then very young, placed on the throne, than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the territories of the Messenians, and carrying off their cattle, and whatever else they could meet with. Complaints were made to their chief magistrates; but they seemed rather inclined to encourage, than restrain such robberies, being sharers in the booty. The chief author of all these disorders was one Dorimachus, of Trichonia, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him^d, every way an Ætolian; who, being sent to Phigalia, a city in Peloponnesus, but of the Ætolian confederacy, to be a spy upon the Achæans, encouraged the rabble of that place to plunder their neighbours, with a view of enriching himself with their spoils. To him therefore chiefly the Messenians had recourse, demanding reparation for the damages they had suffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the disturbers of the public tranquillity. Dorimachus told their deputies, that he would come himself to Messene, and there hear their complaints, and see all their grievances redressed. He went to Messene accordingly; but, application being made to him by the chief sufferers, he dismissed them with very reproachful language, and menaces; nay, while he still remained in the city, a band of Ætolian robbers from Phigalia attacked in the night a certain country-house called Chiron, killed all those who made resistance, bound the rest, and carried them off, together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon the Messenians, having cited Dorimachus to appear before their assembly,

*The Æto-
lians enter
the terri-
tories of
the Messe-
nians in
a hostile
manner.*

^c Polyb. lib. ii.

^d Polyb. lib. iv.

arrested him on his entering the council, and kept him in prison till he promised, in the most solemn manner, that reparation should be made for all the injuries they had suffered, and the authors of the late slaughter put into their hands. But he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he prevailed upon the Ætolians to revenge the treatment he had met with at Messene, by declaring war against the Messenians; which being proclaimed, the Ætolian pirates began to infest the neighbouring seas, taking all the ships that fell in their way. They even made prize of a ship belonging to the king of Macedon, and, carrying her to Cythera, sold both the ship and her company. In short, they plundered all the coast of Epirus; made an attempt on Thyrea, a city of Acarnania; and, conveying some troops privately into Peloponnesus, surprised and kept possession of a strong hold called Clarium, in the Megaleopolitan territory, making use of it to lodge and secure their plunder. And now, having a place of retreat in the very centre of Peloponnesus, they began their march to Messene, plundering the cities of Patræ and Pharæ, and laying waste all the countries they passed, till they came to Phigalia, which they chose for their place of arms, making from thence frequent inroads into the lands of the Messenians.

The Achæans, in the mean time, assembling, according to custom, at Ægium, the complaints of the Patræans and Pharæans were heard, and the deputies of the Messenians sent to implore the assistance of the Achæans against the common enemy. After the assembly had deliberated on these matters, it was agreed, that the state had been affronted by those insolent proceedings of the Ætolians, who had presumed to enter Achaia in a hostile manner, contrary to the treaty of peace: justly provoked at these infractions, they resolved to send succours to the Messenians; and that, as soon as the prætor should have raised them, they would then proceed farther to execute what should be thought expedient by the assembly. Timoxenus, who was the prætor of the Achæans, was not pleased with the decree; for, his authority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, as having a mean opinion of the Achæan soldiery. But Aratus, provoked at the indignities they had suffered by the audacious Ætolians, lost no time in putting the Achæans under arms, being determined to come speedily to a battle

The Achæans resolve to assist the Messenians against the Ætolians.

with the enemy. Five days before he entered on his charge, he dispatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing a day when all their young men, fit for the service, should assemble at Megalopolis. All the Achæan youth been drawn together at the place of rendezvous, he sent a messenger to the Ætolians, requiring them to depart the territories of Messene, and not to march into Achæia, on peril of being treated as enemies. The Ætolians, not being at that time in a condition to make head against the army of the Achæans, complied with his demand: whereupon Aratus dismissed the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, who had joined him, marching only with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to observe the motions of the enemy, and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them, he observed, that they were marching off with an immense booty; a circumstance which so provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the disadvantages imaginable. The dispute was long and obstinate; but at last the Achæans, having the disadvantage of the ground, and being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The Ætolians pursued them close with great shouts and acclamations, and made such a slaughter of the fugitives, that they must have all been cut off, had they not been near the safe retreats of Orchomenos and Caphya. The Megalopolitans, who had drawn all their forces together, in order to join Aratus, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other use than to bury those whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the Ætolians, having gained a complete victory, contrary to their expectation, marched, without fear or danger, quite across the Peloponnesus, made an unsuccessful attempt on Pellene, plundered the territories of Sicyon, and encamped on the Isthmus.

Aratus accused before the assembly of the Achæans.

In the mean time, the Achæans having convoked their general assembly, complaints were made against Aratus by all the allies, as the cause of the loss and dishonour which they had sustained. And indeed there was no dispute, but Aratus had greatly erred in having usurped the magistracy, before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny, but what he had undertaken had succeeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove, that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of a commander, he asked pardon; and hoped, that, in regard to his past services, they would not censure him with more rigour

Yr. of Fl.
2127.
Ante Chr.
221.

*Battle of
Caphya lost
by Aratus.*

rigour than humanity. His submission changed the opinions of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers; who, privately withdrawing, left Aratus in greater esteem among all ranks of people, than he had ever been to that time: the assembly gave themselves entirely up to his counsel and conduct, and reinstated him in the command of the allied army. However, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage; so that he behaved as a prudent civil magistrate, rather than as an able warrior: and, though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he suffered their parties to lay waste almost the whole country^f.

The Achæans were therefore forced to address themselves to Macedonia again, and call in Philip, in hopes, that the affection he bore to Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to send them speedy succours; for Antigonus, on his death-bed, had entreated Philip to join with Aratus, and follow his counsel in all things relating to Greece. He had also sent him, when very young, into Peloponnesus, to learn the art of government under the eye of so great a statesman. Philip, having given audience to the Achæan deputies, and understood, by their speech, the injuries they had suffered from the Ætolians, contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of Antigonus, promised to assist them with the whole strength of his kingdom; and accordingly, soon after, set out for Greece, and arrived at Corinth. Upon his arrival, the ambassadors of the confederates, who were already met at Corinth, began to concert with him what measures they should take with relation to the Ætolians. Complaints were made to the king by almost every city in Peloponnesus against them, and war unanimously declared by the king, and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the assembly, with the concurrence and approbation of Philip, that all those, who had been sufferers by the Ætolians since the death of Demetrius, father to Philip, should be received into the confederacy; and that, if any city or state had been awed into an alliance with the Ætolians, and paid them tribute, they should be set at liberty, the security of their respective governments committed to their own hands, and all garrisons withdrawn. This decree was sent to all the confederate towns, that the people might jointly, in

The Achæans recur to Philip of Macedonia;

who readily joins them.

War declared against the Ætolians.

^f Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in Arat.

their different states, proclaim war against the common enemy; which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the Confederate War ^z.

*Several
states join
in an alli-
ance a-
gainst
them.*

The Ætolians, on the other side, prepared for war, and chose for their prætor one Scopas, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed. Philip, having concerted with the Achæans the operations of the ensuing campaign, marched his army back into Macedon, where he employed all the winter in making the requisite military preparations. He persuaded Scerdilaidas to join the Achæan league. This was a petty king of Illyria, who had engaged in an alliance with the Ætolians; but was, at that time, highly incensed against them, for refusing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, share of the spoils got at the taking of Cynætha. This breach of articles so disgusted him, that he was easily prevailed upon by Philip to enter into the common alliance, and to furnish a fleet of thirty ships, on the terms of being paid yearly the sum of twenty talents ^b. The Achæans likewise sent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The Acarnanians, without any hesitation, declared war against the Ætolians, though they were most exposed to the enemy's insults, as lying nearest the Ætolian territories, and not in a condition to defend themselves. The Epirots refused to declare war, till Philip should first proclaim it. The Messenians, for whose sake the war was undertaken, declared, that they would not engage in it, unless Phigalia, which commanded their frontiers, were first drawn off from the Ætolian league. The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans; but the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the Ætolians. Thus all things succeeding to the wish of the Ætolians, they entered on the war with great hopes of success; while the Achæans had but a melancholy prospect of their affairs: for Philip, on whom they chiefly relied, was yet but forming his army; the Epirots were slow in their preparations; and the Messenians continued neuter; while the Ætolians, assisted by the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, attacked them on all sides, and gained very considerable advantages. Ambassadors were therefore dispatched to Philip; who, hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief, with fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; and, crossing Thessaly, arrived in Epirus. Here he was

*Philip
marches to
the assist-
ance of the
Achæans.*

^z Polyb. *ibid.* p. 294. 299.

^b *Idem. ibid.* p. 305, 306.

prevailed

prevailed upon by the Epirots to lay siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare against his coming; whereas, if he had led his army directly into Ætolia, he would, in all likelihood, have put an end to the war. While Philip was employed at Ambracia, Scopas, at the head of a very numerous body of Ætolians, marched through Thessaly, and, entering Macedonia, ravaged the country, without the least opposition, returning home with an immense booty. However, this diversion did not hinder Philip from pursuing the siege of Ambracia: after the surrender of that city, entered Ætolia, and seized on a great many important places. He would have soon reduced all Ætolia, had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the Dardanians were upon the point of invading. At his departure, he assured the ambassadors of the Achæans, that, as soon as he should be able to compose his affairs at home, he would return into Greece, and assist them to the utmost of his power. His unexpected arrival so terrified the Dardanians, that they dismissed their army, and retired home: then Philip, returning to Thessaly, spent the remaining part of the summer in the city of Larissa¹.

In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops, led them into the Upper Epirus, laying waste the whole country, not so much with a view of profit to himself, as from malice to the Epirots. He did not even spare the temple of Dodona, but laid it in ashes, carrying home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that stately edifice. Philip, having notice of these ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left Larissa, taking with him three thousand chalcaspides, so called from their carrying brazen shields, two thousand buckler-men, three hundred Candiots, and about four hundred horse, he marched through Thessaly and Eubœa to Corinth, where he arrived, without any individual's having the least notice of his march. On his arrival he sent for Aratus, and dispatched letters to his son, who was that year prætor, and commander in chief of the Achæan forces, requiring him to assemble the troops as soon as possible, and appoint a place of rendezvous. Caphya was the place agreed on, whither while Philip was marching, he met with a detachment of two thousand Eleans, who, under the command

The Ætolians plunder the temple of Dodona.

¹ Polyb. *ibid.* p. 334.

*Pfophis
taken by
the confederates.*

of Euripidas, were advancing to plunder the territory of Sicyon. Having attacked them unexpectedly (for they were ignorant of Philip's return), he took about twelve hundred prisoners, and cut the rest in pieces. Three days after, he arrived at Caphya, where he halted two days to refresh his troops; and then, together with Aratus the younger, who had there assembled ten thousand Achæans, he advanced to Pfophis, with a design to besiege it. This was a bold attempt; for the city was accounted impregnable, on account of its natural situation, and the many fortifications which had been added to it (P); and, besides, was furnished with a strong garrison, commanded by Euripidas, who had escaped from the late defeat. Philip encamped on an eminence, at a small distance from the town; and, after viewing the fortifications and situation of the place, was a long time doubtful whether he should attempt it, or not; but, at length, reflecting on the great importance of such a fortress, he resolved to begin the siege. Having therefore ordered his troops to refresh themselves, and be in readiness by break of day, he commanded them to march down, and pass the bridge over the Erymanthus. This passage they effected without opposition, the garrison not suspecting they would venture on such a dangerous enterprize. Having crossed the river, they approached the town, and lodged themselves at the foot of the wall. Their lodgement struck Euripidas and the garrison with great terror; for they never imagined that the enemy would make an essay of their strength against a place so well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long siege in the winter. What they chiefly apprehended was, that Philip might become master of the place, by treachery; but when these fears were over, there being none in the town so much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themselves to the defence of the works, the greatest part of the Ætolians mounting

(P) Pfophis was the most ancient city of Arcadia, situated in the heart of Peloponnesus, and on the west borders of Arcadia, towards the frontiers of Achaia. It was surrounded on the west side by a rapid stream, which, during the winter, was no where fordable; on the east by the Erymanthus, a great and violent river; on the south

by a torrent, which emptied itself into the Erymanthus; on the north it was defended by an eminence very strong by nature, and greatly improved by art, which served for a citadel; and, besides, the walls and works about the town were very considerable for their height and thickness.

the

the walls, while the Elean mercenaries made a sally by a gate, in the upper part of the town, in hopes of surprising the enemy on that side. In the mean time, the king, having appointed three several attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raised, by men destined for that particular service, against each place, with a strong guard of Macedonians to support them; then, commanding the signal to be given, they advanced to the assault, on all quarters of the town. The garrison, for some time, made a brave resistance, overturning many of the ladders; but their darts beginning to fail them, and the Macedonians bravely maintaining the attack, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, the defendants at length deserted their posts, and betook themselves, by flight, to the citadel, leaving the Macedonians possessed of the walls. At the same time, the Candiots, who had engaged the party that made the sally, repulsed them, and, in the pursuit, entered the town; so that it was taken in all quarters at once. The inhabitants, with their wives and children, took sanctuary in the citadel; as did Euripidas, and such as had time to provide for their safety^k. This commander, foreseeing what must inevitably befall him, capitulated with Philip, and yielded the citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither, both townsmen and strangers. The king being obliged, by the bad weather, to take up his abode here for some days, he assembled all the Achæans that were with him; and, after shewing them of what importance the city of Psophis was in the present war, generously gave it up to their deputies; assuring them, at the same time, that he would let no occasion pass of giving the strongest proofs of his affection to their nation, and zeal for their interest.

Philip gives up the town to the Achæans;

From Psophis, the king led his army to Lasion, which he found abandoned both by the Elean garrison, and the inhabitants. This town likewise he delivered up to the Achæans, as he gave the city of Stratus to the Telphusi-ans, whom the Eleans had expelled. From Stratus he continued his march to Olympia, where, after he had allowed his troops three days rest, he entered the territories of the Eleans, sending detachments to plunder and lay waste the country, while he encamped, with the body of the army, in the neighbourhood of Artemisium. This territory had been formerly accounted sacred, on account of the Olympic games, which were solemnized there

and several other places that surrender to him.

^k Polyb. *ibid.* p. 336.

every fourth year; and all the nations of Greece had agreed never to turn their arms against it; but the Eleans had forfeited this privilege, by engaging in the wars of Greece, and adhering to one party against another. As the territory of the Eleans was the best peopled, and the most fruitful, of all Peloponnesus, and the inhabitants were so fond of a country life, that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns, the allied army found here so great a booty, that they could scarce carry it off; the foldiers being overloaded with the rich moveables of their country-houses, besides the many prisoners, and numerous herds of cattle, which greatly embarrassed them in their march. Philip therefore found it necessary to retire from the Elean territory, and re-encamp at Olympia, taking, on his march, the fortress of Thaleme, whither many of the Eleans had conveyed their most valuable effects¹.

Disturbances raised by Apelles.

While Philip was thus employing his arms in defence of the Achæan liberties, one of his courtiers formed a project of reducing them to a state of slavery. Among the many tutors and governors left by Antigonus to king Philip, who came a child to the crown, Apelles held the chief rank, and had preserved a powerful influence over the young prince. This minister determined to reduce the Achæans to the same condition in which the Thessalians were at that time; that is, to subject them to the caprice of the ministers of Macedon, leaving them only the bare name of liberty, which was the case of the Thessalians. To compass this design, his first essay was on the patience of the Achæan soldiery, whom the Macedonians, by his orders, often dislodged, taking possession of their quarters, and depriving them of their plunder. When they complained of this hard usage, he caused them to be put under arrest, and severely punished by the common executioner; imagining that, by this usage, he should be able, by degrees, to bring the Achæans to bear any burden the king should lay upon them. But Aratus complaining to the king of this injurious treatment, and imparting to him the project of Apelles, he assured him, that care should be taken for the future, to prevent any such injuries; and accordingly he ordered Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, without the concurrence of their prætor, or chief officer. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour the king shewed

¹ Polyb. *ibid.*

them, and the orders he had given for their peace and security, bestowed the highest encomiums on his equity, and other exalted qualities. And, indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was possessed of all those virtues which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, an uncommon understanding, a happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aspect, heightened by a majestic air, which bespoke the greatness of his mind; but his brightest virtues were the sweetness of his temper, his affability, and a great desire to please and content all who lived under his government ^a. How he forfeited this great character, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

*Philip's
good qual-
ities.*

The king, having thus settled matters between the Macedonians and Achæans, decamped from Olympia; and, having caused a bridge to be laid over the Alpheus, entered the territory of the Triphalians (Q), reduced the city of Aliphera (R), and in a few days brought all that country under subjection. The rapidity of his conquests struck such terror into all the neighbouring states, that most of them submitted, and the rest, after a faint resistance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus weakened the Ætolian confederacy, he returned, loaded with spoils and glory, to Argos, where he passed the remainder of the winter ^a.

*He reduces
the city of
Aliphera.*

^a Polyb. ubi supra, p. 338, 339.

^a Polyb. p. 343.

(Q) This country, which took its name from an Arcadian youth, lies on the sea-coast of Peloponnesus, between the Eleans and Messenians, on the north-west skirts of Achaia. Its towns were Sancticum, Lepreum, Hypana, Typanæa, Pyrgus, Æpyium, Bolax, Stylagium, and Phryxæ. All these places the Eleans had reduced to their obedience, together with Alipharæa, a town of Arcadia, and Megalopolis, a city at that time of great note (1).

(R) Aliphera was seated on the top of a high and steep hill, which was defended by a strong fortress. In this fortress was to be seen a brazen statue of Minerva, famous for its size, and the excellence of the workmanship. The inhabitants, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whose charge. It was the work of Hecabodorus and Sostratus, and generally esteemed the most beautiful and finished piece they ever performed (2).

(1) Polyb. lib. ii. p. 339, 343.

(2) Idem ibid. p. 343.

Apelles endeavours to put Aratus in disgrace with the king.

Apelles was not yet without hopes of bringing, by degrees, the Achæans to a servile subjection; but he knew that Aratus, and his son, opposed his design; and that the king held them in great esteem, especially the father, in whom he reposed great confidence. Apelles, therefore, resolved to attack them both, and, by fraud and address, bring them into disgrace with the king. With this view he sent for all those who were of the opposite faction among the Achæans, and enemies to Aratus; and, having instructed himself in their several interests and characters, he employed all his arts to engage them in his friendship, by speaking in their favour to the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that, if he continued to treat Aratus with so much deference, he could never hope to gain any thing on the Achæans, farther than was stipulated by the articles of confederacy; but, if he would be pleased to countenance those he should recommend, he might soon compass whatever he desired, and dispose of all matters in Peloponnesus, at his pleasure. The new friends enforced these reflections, and improved on the arguments of Apelles. As the time of electing a new prætor was drawing near, he prevailed with the king to be present at the Achæan assembly, and to employ all his interest in favour of one Eperatus, a declared enemy to Aratus, who was accordingly elected in preference to Timozenus, whom Aratus had set up. Thus Philip, notwithstanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his prime minister. And now Apelles began to think that he had advanced far in his enterprize, having obtained an Achæan prætor of his faction: he therefore renewed his attempts, being determined totally to destroy the interest of Aratus with the king. An incident which happened at that time supplied him with new calumnies. Amphidamus, chief of the Eleans, who had been taken prisoner, persuaded the king that it would not be difficult to procure him the friendship of his countrymen; and that he could easily make them covet his alliance. Upon this assurance the king discharged the Elean chief without ransom, with a commission to assure the Eleans, that, on condition of their entering into alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the entire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them both from garrisons and tribute: but the Eleans would not listen to any conditions, how advantageous soever, declaring, that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to abandon their ancient allies. This unreasonable refusal Apelles ascribed to the ill services done clandestinely

His wiles and calumnies.

destinely by Aratus, telling the king, that he had kept Amphidamus from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of Elis; and that, on Amphidamus's departure from Olympia towards Elis, he had conferred with him, and made him change his opinion, being by him persuaded, that it would not be for the interest of Peloponnesus that Philip should acquire any power over the Eleans. The king immediately sent for Aratus, and insisted upon Apelles' charging him, to his face, with what he had alleged against him in private. Apelles accordingly accused him with such an air of assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself. He even added, that since the king had discovered his insincerity, by which he had rendered himself so unworthy of his kindness and good offices, the whole matter should be referred to the general assembly of the Achæans, and the king, in the mean time, return with his army into Macedonia. Aratus besought the king not to give credit over-hastily to what he heard, shewing, that it was a piece of justice owing by a king more than by any other man, to a person accused, to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of impeachment, and till then suspend his judgment. He required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce those who were witnesses of the conference whereof he had been accused, and likewise the person who had given Apelles the information; and observed, that nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he discovered any thing to the assembly. The king thought Aratus's request very just and reasonable, and engaged his royal word that he should be gratified in it. Not long after, Amphidamus, being suspected by the Eleans to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country, and retire to Dymas, whither the king was come to settle some affairs. Aratus laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king that he himself would examine Amphidamus, since the secret was said to have been imparted to him. He complied with his request, and, upon a strict examination, found that there was not the least ground for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, and restored to the king's favour and confidence.

Aratus found innocent, and restored to the king's favour.

As Philip began to want both money and provisions for his army, he prevailed upon the Achæan magistrates, by

Supplies decreed to Philip by the Achæans.

• Polyb. *ibid.* p. 344, 349.

means

means of Aratus, to convene a general assembly at Sicyon; where, on the report he made of the state of his treasury, and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was decreed, that the instant his troops should set out on their march, fifty talents should be advanced to the king, with ten thousand measures of wheat; and that, afterwards, so long as he should carry on the war, in person, in Peloponnesus, he should receive fifteen talents a month. This decree renewed his esteem for Aratus, to whom he was indebted for so large a supply, as he himself acknowledged, in a private conference which he had both with the father and the son, after the council was dismissed. On this occasion he imputed all that had passed to the artifices of Apelles, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the same degree as heretofore, since he esteemed them at present more than ever ^P.

And now, the armies beginning to move from their winter-quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war, likewise, by sea, in order to divide the enemy's forces, and be able to carry their arms with more ease whithersoever they should judge it most expedient; for they had to contend at once with the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans. Pursuant to this resolution the king ordered the fleet, comprehending both his own and the Achæan ships, to rendezvous at the port of Lechæum, where he commanded the Macedonian phalanx to be instructed in the use of the oar.

*Treason-
able prac-
tices of
Apelles.*

While Philip was thus employed in training up his Macedonians for naval expeditions, Apelles, who could not brook the diminution of his credit with the king, nor suffer that the counsels of Aratus should be followed, took secret measures to defeat all his master's designs. He agreed with Leontius and Megaleas, two chief officers, who were to act in the army, that they should secretly obstruct all his measures, while he, making his abode at Chalcis, should take care to shorten and retard his supplies; so that he should be obliged, for want of money and provisions, to pass the whole summer in a state of inactivity. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign, and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into his arms. With this prospect he acted his part so well, that, by stopping the convoys of money and provisions, he reduced the king to such

difficulties, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to supply his wants.

Philip, thinking his Macedonians now sufficiently instructed in the use of the oar, embarked with six thousand of them, and twelve hundred mercenaries, steering his course towards Patræ, where he arrived the next day. From Patræ he dispatched messengers to the Epirots, Messenians, Arcanians, and Scardilaidas, requiring them to hasten with their ships, and join him at Cephallenia. He then left Patræ, and sailed to Paleis, a strong city in the island of Cephallenia. Here, finding plenty of corn *Paleis besieged.* to maintain his army, he disembarked, and sat down before the place, drawing his vessels ashore, and securing them with a good ditch and pallisado. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was very desirous to become master of it before their arrival. It was of great use to the Etolians, who, from thence, made all their descents on Peloponnesus, and plundered the coasts of Epirus and Acarnania. Philip, therefore, having viewed the situation of the town, caused the military engines to be planted before it, ordering the Macedonians to undermine the walls: they went cheerfully to work; and, in a short time, undermined great part of the wall, propping and supporting it with great wooden stakes. The king then summoned the town to surrender; which the garrison refusing to do, fire was set to the posts that sustained the walls, and a breach made six hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall: but he, mindful of his agreement with Apelles, having corrupted some of the chief officers that served under him, attacked the enemy so faintly, that he was repulsed with great loss, when he had the fairest opportunity that could be wished for, of taking the town. This check obliged the king to raise the siege, though he was joined by the Epirots, Arcanians, Messenians, and by fifteen vessels sent him by Scardelaidas *Treachery of Leontius.* 1.

While Philip was thus employed at the siege of Paleis, Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, marched, at the head of a numerous army, into the territories of Messenia, and Dorimachus, the Ætolian, with a strong detachment, into Thessaly, both with the same design of obliging the king, by this double diversion, to break up the siege. Ambassadors were dispatched to him from the Acarnanians

1 Polyb. *ibid.* p. 350, 365.

and Messenians, the former advising him to make an inroad into Ætolia, and thereby oblige Dorimachus to return to the defence of his own country; and the latter entreating him to sail directly to Messenia, where he might easily surprize Lycurgus, who was not under any apprehension of being attacked. Leontius seconded this advice, foreseeing, that if the king followed it, he would be obliged to spend the whole summer there, while the Ætolians would be at liberty to put all to fire and sword in Thessaly and Epirus; for during the season of the Etesian winds, which continued most part of the summer, it was impossible to return back, as they were not, in those days, very expert mariners. Aratus, therefore, did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, shewing how advantageous it would be to fall on the Ætolians, while their country was unfurnished with troops; and adding, that the opportunity of making descents was not to be neglected, now that Dorimachus, with the Ætolian troops, was employed elsewhere. The king, who, ever since the cowardly behaviour of Leontius at Paleis, began to suspect his fidelity, followed the advice of Aratus; and, having wrote to Eperatus, the Achæan prætor, to assemble his troops, and march to the relief of the Messenians, he himself weighed anchor, and arrived next day at Leucas: there he landed his forces, and having caused his vessels to be carried over the Isthmus of Doryctus, he passed into the Gulf of Ambracia, which runs far up into Ætolia, and arrived before day-break at Lemnæ. Here he commanded the soldiers to take a short refreshment, and to be in readiness to march without any baggage but what was absolutely necessary. While the king was on the point of setting out from Lemnæ, Aristophontes, the Acarnanian general, joined him with all his forces; for that people, having been great sufferers by the Ætolians, greedily embraced so fair an opportunity of retaliation; and, on this occasion, not only such as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even those who were exempted by their age or long services, took the field. The Epirots, incited by the like motives, were not less forward, though, on account of the extent of their country, and the sudden arrival of Philip, they had not been able to draw all their forces together. The king, thus reinforced, departed from Lemnæ in the close of the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived, by day-break, at the river Achelous, intending to surprize the important town of Thermæ. Leontius,

fore-

Philip joined by the Acarnanians and Epirots.

foreseeing that this enterprize would be attended with success, advised the king to encamp on the banks of the Achelous, and allow the army some rest, after so fatiguing a night's march, being willing that the Ætolians should have some time to recollect themselves, and provide for their defence: but Aratus, being now sensible that Leontius opposed all promising designs, pressed Philip to admit of no delay, nor, upon any reason whatsoever, respite his march, the success whereof lay in dispatch. The king followed his advice, and, setting out that instant, marched directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impracticable road, cut between two steep rocks. Thermæ was the capital of Ætolia, and the place where their yearly assemblies and fairs were held. As it was reckoned impregnable from its situation, and no enemy had ever before approached it, the Ætolians had lodged in it all their most valuable effects. So great, therefore, was their surprize, when they saw Philip appear before it, that they had not so much presence of mind as to shut the gates, or make the least resistance. The Macedonians and their allies were permitted to plunder the town, which abounded with all sorts of provisions, military stores, and valuable moveables. The army remained that night in the town, and the next morning, every one choosing out of the booty what was most valuable, and easy to be carried away, they made a heap of the rest, and burnt it before the camp. They likewise saved the best arms which were found in their armories, exchanging them with such of their own as were less serviceable, and burning the rest, to the number of fifteen thousand suits^r.

*Thermæ,
the metro-
polis of
Ætolia,
surprised
and plun-
dered.*

The Macedonians did not stop here; but recollecting what the Ætolians had done at Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the porticoes of the temple, and levelled that magnificent structure with the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking in pieces, to the number of two thousand statues of exquisite workmanship, and, at that time, greatly esteemed even in Greece. They respected, however, such as were known, either by their form or inscription, to represent any of the gods. The desolation was such, as to strike the king himself, and those about him, with a kind of horror, though, at the same time, they believed that they had not over-acted their revenge for the sacrilegious impieties of the Ætolians at Dium.

*The temple
levelled
with the
ground.*

^r Polyb. *ibid.* p. 365, & seqq.

Philip attacked in his retreat by the Ætolians;

who are put to flight.

Aratus ill treated by Leontius and Megaleas.

Philip, having plundered the town, marched back the same way he came: the booty he placed in the van, guarded by his heavy-armed troops; the Acarnanians, and mercenaries were posted in the rear; and the king himself, with a body of light armed Macedonians, ready to face the enemy in what part soever they should appear; for he was extremely solicitous to pass the streights before the Ætolians could draw together a body of troops to oppose his passage: but he had scarce begun his march, when three thousand Ætolians, headed by Alexander, the Trichonian, fell on his rear, and put them into great confusion. This attack Philip had foreseen, and accordingly placed a detachment of Illyrians in ambush behind a rising ground. These, unexpectedly appearing, fell on the enemy, who had charged beyond them; and, having killed about an hundred of them, and taken as many prisoners, obliged the rest to save themselves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near Stratus; but having repulsed the enemy with great courage and resolution, he arrived safe and unmolested at Lemnæa, where he had left his baggage and vessels. Here he sacrificed to the gods, by way of thanksgiving for the success that had attended his arms in that expedition; and, at the same time, to express his joy, gave his officers a royal entertainment. Leontius and Megaleas were present; but every one soon perceived, by their behaviour, that they looked with disgust on the good fortune of their master. During the whole entertainment, they could not help throwing out against Aratus the most injurious and shocking railleries. But words were not all: at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine, and fired with anger, they pursued him with stones till he reached his tent. This outrage put the whole army in an uproar, not only the Achæans, but the Macedonians themselves, running from all quarters to his assistance. The noise soon reached the king's ears, who, after a strict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned Megaleas (for Leontius absconded), in a fine of twenty talents, and put him under arrest. The next day he sent for Aratus; and, after expressing his disapprobation of the violence that had been committed, gave him new assurances of his protection. Leontius, in the mean time, being informed how the king had proceeded with Megaleas, came boldly, with a crowd of soldiers, to the royal tent, thinking thereby, as that prince was but young, to put him into some apprehensions, and awe him into another resolution touch-

ing

ing the offenders. Being come into the king's presence, "Who has been so bold," said he, "as to lay hands on Megaleas?" "It was I," replied the king, in a majestic tone; "and whatever has been done is by my express command." This resolution in the king so intimidated Leontius, that he immediately retired from his presence. He no sooner withdrew, than the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alleged against Leontius, Megaleas, and their accomplices. Aratus charged them with all those criminal practices we have already taken notice of; and discovered the whole conspiracy of Apelles. As he urged nothing against them but what was vouched by competent witnesses, they were all found guilty. The king, however, by an unseasonable clemency, pardoned them, and even set Megaleas at liberty, Leontius binding himself for the payment of the fine the king had imposed¹.

Both found guilty, but unseasonably pardoned by the king.

During Philip's expedition into Ætolia, Lycurgus, king of Sparta, made an inroad into the territories of the Messenians, but did nothing worth recording. Dorimachus likewise, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with a design to lay waste the country, and thereby oblige the king to raise the siege of Paleis, returned without effecting either, having found the Thessalians ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore remained on the mountains till he heard that the Macedonians had invaded Ætolia, when he left Thessaly, and hastened to the relief of his own country: but, before he arrived, the king was retired¹.

In the mean time, Philip having embarked his troops at Leucas, and plundered the coast of Hyantes in his way, arrived at Corinth; where landing his forces, and ordering the vessels to be carried over to Lachæum, he dispatched messengers to the confederate towns of Peloponnesus, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at Tegæa. He then marched from Corinth, and came the next day to Tegæa, whence he proceeded with such of the Achæan horse as were there ready, holding his route over the mountains, with a design to fall by surprize on the Lacedæmonian territories. After four days march through a desert country, he gained the top of those hills that command the city of Sparta; and thence advanced to Amycla, a town distant from Sparta about four miles. The Spartans, who had heard of the success he met with

Yr. of Fl.
2129.
Ante Chr.
219.

The confederates enter the country of Lacedæmon.

¹ Polyb. ubi supra, p. 368, 376. Plutarch in Arat. p. 1049.
² Polyb. ibid. p. 372.

at Thermæ, were much alarmed, when they saw the young monarch appear so suddenly in their territories, and approaching the gates of their metropolis. Several skirmishes were fought, in which Philip was always victorious; but we shall omit the particulars, which would swell the history to an undue length; and only observe that this expedition proved no less glorious to the king's arms than that of Ætolia; for he laid waste many parts of the enemy's country, took and destroyed several towns, defeated Lycurgus, who, with a body of two thousand Lacedæmonians, had attempted to cut off his retreat; and returned, with an immense booty, to Corinth. Here he found ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to offer their mediation, and incline both parties to a peace. The king, dissembling his real intention, told them, that he was willing to conclude a peace with the Ætolians on reasonable terms; and charged them, on their return, to dispose his enemies to an accommodation. The king, at that time, had formed a project of making a descent on the territories of the Phocians, and executing there an enterprize of great importance. Having therefore dismissed the ambassadors, he hastened to Leontium, proposing to embark his troops there.

*Leontius,
Megaleas,
and Ptole-
my, raise
a tumult
among the
troops.*

But he was scarce gone, when Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, which last was also one of Philip's chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at Corinth, to wean their affections from their prince, and win them over to their own interest. They represented to the light-armed troops, and the king's guards, that they, who were the first in all hazards, and secured the rest of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit; and that, instead of being distinguished by any particular reward for their service, they had been even deprived of the booty which they had taken. The soldiers were so inflamed by these seditious discourses, that, assembling in parties, they plundered the houses of the king's chief favourites, and carried their insolence to that height, as to force the gates of his own palace. That prince, receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to Corinth; and, assembling the Macedonians, made them sensible of their fault in a long harangue, intermixed with gentleness and severity. The tumult being appeased, some advised the king to seize the authors of the sedition, and punish them with the utmost rigour; others thought it more advisable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being still young, and his au-
thority

thority not yet entirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed, stifling his resentment, and pretending to be very well satisfied. He returned to Lachæum, after having exhorted his troops to union and concord; but it was now too late to undertake any thing against the Phocians, who had collected their forces, and were prepared to give him a warm reception.

In the mean time Leontius, being apprised, that the king, notwithstanding appearances, would not fail, in due time, to vent his just resentment upon him, had recourse to Apelles, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and pressing him to leave Chalcis, and hasten to court. Philip had been informed, by Aratus, of the whole conduct of Apelles; but had kept his thoughts so close, that nobody could discover, from his behaviour, any change in him with respect to his prime minister, who continued to govern at Chalcis more like a sovereign prince, than a subject (S). He therefore no sooner heard of the danger his client was in, than he left Chalcis, not doubting but he should be received at court after the usual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleasure. As he drew near to Corinth, Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed, by their authority, on the flower of the king's forces to meet, and attend him, by way of guard, into the town; so that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer, who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace, and had received orders to that effect, stopped, and told him, that he must wait; for the king was not then at leisure. Apelles was amazed at so unexpected a reception, and, after having waited some time in silence, retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domestics, all the rest having already deserted him. Megaleas, seeing the prime minister, on whose protection he relied, disgraced, made his escape to

*Apelles
how re-
ceived by
Philip.*

(S) Apelles, during his residence at Chalcis, governed all things with an arbitrary sway, as if he, and not Philip, had been invested with the sovereign power. Wherefore the magistrates, and such as had charge of the affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, applied to

him alone, and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the Greek towns had occasion to publish new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferments, there was scarce ever any mention made of the king, but of Apelles (1).

(1) Polyb. lib. v. p. 350, & seq.

*Leontius
arrested.*

Athens, leaving Leontius, who was his surety for the sum of twenty talents, to shift for himself. The king, having sent the buckler-men, whose chief officer Leontius was, to Triphalia, under the command of Taurion, pretending to have some extraordinary occasion for their service, caused Leontius to be arrested, giving out, that it was for the payment of the twenty talents which he was bound for, but in reality to have him in his power, and to sound the disposition of the soldiery. The troops which he commanded no sooner received notice of his arrest, but they sent a petition to the king, importing, that, if the commitment of Leontius was on any other account than that of his being surety for Megaleas, the king would be pleased not to determine any thing against him during their absence; and that they should interpret any sentence to his prejudice as an injury done to them, and resent it accordingly; but, in case Leontius was under an arrest to secure the payment of the money due on account of Megaleas, they would readily contribute towards satisfying the debt. But their affection shewn to Leontius proved unseasonable, and was taken so ill by the king, that it became the occasion of his death sooner than was expected^a.

*A thirty
days truce
granted to
the Ætoli-
ans.*

During this interval, the ambassadors returned from Ætolia, with proposals for a truce of thirty days. They assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace; and that they had appointed a day for their general assembly to meet at Rhium, where they prayed the king to be present, promising all the advances possible on their part towards a general pacification. Philip accepted of the truce, and sent his dispatches to the confederates, requiring them to send their respective deputies to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself immediately set out from Lechæum, in order to assist at it, and arrived the next day at Patræ. There letters were delivered to him, directed by Megaleas to the Ætolians, encouraging them to pursue the war against Philip and the Achæans, since the king was in the utmost distress for want of money and provisions. They contained likewise most reproachful and injurious reflections on the king; who was now convinced, that the whole faction of Apelles sought his destruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken into custody, together with his son, and a youth his favourite, and sent to Corinth. At the

^a Polyb. *ibid.* p. 373, 374.

same time he enjoined the magistrates of Thebes to prosecute Megaleas, who had retired thither from Athens; but he prevented his trial, by laying violent hands on himself. Not long after, Leontius received sentence of death, which was likewise pronounced upon Apelles, his son and favourite.

*Megaleas
lays vio-
lent hands
on himself.
Leontius
and Apelles
put to
death.*

As to the Ætolians, they were sincerely disposed to peace, being grown weary of a war, in which all their projects had succeeded quite otherwise than they expected. They had flattered themselves, that they were to oppose a young unexperienced prince, Philip not being yet arrived, as they imagined, at an age of conduct and experience; but they found him an able and enterprising leader, and well qualified both for counsel and execution. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles, hoping these troubles would beget distractions at court, they postponed their meeting at Rhium. Philip, and the confederates, who had a hopeful prospect of the issue of the war, and wished for nothing more ardently than to break off all negotiations of peace, were glad of the opportunity which the enemy furnished them with, and accordingly animated each other to the prosecution of hostilities. As winter was drawing near, Philip, after engaging the allies to meet him with the forces early in the spring, weighed anchor, and returned to Corinth. There he gave the Macedonians leave to retire to winter-quarters in their own country; while he, coasting Attica, repaired to Demetrias in Thessaly, where Ptolemy, the only conspirator that remained, was sentenced to die, and executed accordingly.

*Yr. of Fl.
2131.
Ante Chr.
217.*

*The confederates re-
solve to
pursue the
war.*

By this time Eperatus, who had been chosen prætor of the Achæans, by the influence of Apelles, was become universally despised, not being qualified for that trust; which is common in forced elections. No one would pay obedience to his orders, and, the country being open and defenceless, great havock was made in it by Pyrrhias, at the head of three thousand Eleans and Ætolians. The Achæan troops, not having received their pay, refused to obey the prætor's orders, when at any time they were commanded to march out to the relief of the country, and deserted in great numbers. All this misfortune was owing to the insufficiency of Eperatus; but, happily for the Achæans, his authority was almost expired, and, early in the summer, Aratus was appointed to succeed him*. The new prætor found the Achæan

*Aratus a-
gain cho-
sen prætor.*

* Polyb. *ibid.* p. 377.

mercenaries corrupted by a universal decay of military discipline, and not the cities disposed to contribute to carrying on the war. In the general assembly, after having warmly exhorted their deputies to the prosecution of the war, he wrested from them a decree, empowering him to levy eight thousand mercenary foot, and five hundred horse, besides three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, which were to be raised at home. By the same decree, the Megalopolitans were to contribute three hundred foot, and fifty horse; and the Argians the like number.

Thebes of Phthiotis taken by the confederates.

In the mean time, Philip, having ordered such stores and provisions as he had amassed during the winter to be brought from Larissa, set out on his march towards Greece, with a design to begin the campaign with the siege of Thebes called Phthiotis (T), whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads into the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalia, and even Larissa. Accordingly, having divided his army into three bodies, he invested the town, and with an hundred and fifty catapults, and other engines for throwing stones, began to batter the walls night and day, without intermission. The inhabitants at first made a vigorous resistance; but, great numbers of them being killed by those missiles, and the rest exhausted by incessant attacks, which kept them continually in action, their resolution began to fail; and, the Macedonians advancing their mines, and preparing to give the assault, they thought fit to surrender at discretion. Philip plundered the town, sold the inhabitants, and repeopling it with a colony of Macedonians, changed the name of Thebes into that of Philippopolis.

A peace proposed.

Not long after the town had surrendered, new ambassadors came to him from Chios, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Ptolemy king of Egypt, to propose a peace. The king replied, that he was inclined to put an end to the war, and that they needed but apply to the Ætolians, to know whether they were willing to concur with him in restoring Greece to its former tranquillity. Philip was in reality very far from being averse to peace; but, as he did not think proper to declare his true intentions, he told the ambassadors, that, in the mean time, he was determined to pursue his enterprizes.

(T) This city was situate near the sea, about eight-and-thirty miles distance from Larissa; and was on the frontiers of Magnesia and Thessaly, its territory bordering on Magnesia towards Demetrias, and on Thessaly towards that tract which was inhabited by the Pharsalians and Pheræans.

He

He afterwards set out, with his friends and favourites, for Argos, to be present at the Nemæan games. While he was assisting at one of those public sports, he was interrupted by an express from Macedon, with advice, that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymene; and that Hannibal was master of all the open country. This news Philip imparted to none but Demetrius of Pharus, enjoining him all possible secrecy. Demetrius, glad of this opportunity, advised him to put a period to the Ætolian war with what expedition he could, in order to invade Illyricum, and afterwards cross over into Italy. He added, that such a design would gain him the affections of the whole Greek nation; that the Achæans would join him in consequence of the affection they bore him, and the Ætolians from fear, after the calamities they had suffered in the present war; that such an expedition would be his first step to universal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himself; and that the present distress of the Romans offered him a favourable opportunity. Such counsel as this could not but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and of a race which had always grasped at universal empire.

Philip receives the news of the defeat of the Romans, at the lake of Thrasymene.

However, as no man could better conceal his real intentions, a very rare quality in so young a prince, he did not shew that strong inclination for peace, which he had in reality conceived. He only dispatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to send their deputies to the assembly, to negotiate a peace: in the mean time, the better to conceal his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to Lotion; and, after taking a small fortress which was built on the ruins of that place, he acted as if he intended to possess himself of Elea. Both parties were grown so tired of the war, that his summons was received every where with great joy; and plenipotentiaries from all parts hastened to Naupactus, the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious issue to the affair, came at the head of his army; and, encamping within less than a league of the place, attended there the result of their conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the Ætolians by the ambassadors of the confederate cities was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests; which article being agreed upon, the rest met with no

Philip inclined to conclude a peace.

difficulty; so that the treaty was soon concluded; and ratified by Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans, on the other *.

*A peace
concluded.*

This is the first time that the affairs of Italy influenced those of Greece; for, after this period, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct from the state of their respective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on Italy, as the only object of their attention. The Asiatics, and the inhabitants of the islands, in a little time observed the same political maxim; having no more recourse, in their disputes, to Antiochus or Ptolemy, to southern or eastern princes, but turning their eyes westward, and sending ambassadors, some to the Carthaginians, others to the Romans. In like manner the Romans, awakened by the growing power and enterprising genius of Philip, dispatched ambassadors into Greece, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be seen in the sequel of this history †.

As soon as the peace was ratified, the Achæans raised Timoxenes to the prætorship, and then returned to their ancient manner and custom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, restored their worship, and repaired the public and private damages, which they had sustained during the war.

*Philip
changes
his conduct.*

But this happy state of tranquillity was soon disturbed by the prince who had procured it. Philip, having concluded a peace with Hannibal, changed his conduct; and, thinking it necessary to bring all Greece to subjection, before he made any attempts upon Italy, he began with the Messenians, who had been lately admitted into the Achæan confederacy. The city of Messene was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility striving to depress the people, and the people to lessen the power of the nobility. These contentions became so violent, that both factions agreed to call in Philip, and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to Messene, with a design to make himself master of the city. On his arrival, he found Aratus employing his endeavours to compose their differences, in a manner that no ways suited his private ends. He therefore did not think fit to advise with him; but held private conferences with such of the Messenians as resorted to his palace: the nobility he en-

*Disturb-
ances at
Messene.*

* Polyb. *ibid.* p. 435.

† Polyb. *ibid.* p. 436, 437.

couraged

couraged to curb the insolence of the unruly rabble with the utmost severity of the laws; but used a different style in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them, that they were to blame for suffering themselves to be oppressed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themselves against tyrants. Thus both parties, presuming on the king's assistance, thought it adviseable to exert themselves before he was gone, since he seemed so well disposed to countenance them. Accordingly, the nobility gave orders for apprehending some orators, who excited the people to sedition. This step alarmed the populace, who, falling upon the nobility, sacrificed above two hundred of them to their revenge. Such was the aim of Philip from the beginning, he being well apprised, that, if one party were destroyed, it would be no difficult task for him to get the better of the other; neither did Aratus the younger forbear reproaching him with it in very bitter and offensive terms; but the king, who, on such occasions, had a marvellous command of his temper, smothered his resentment; and, taking Aratus the elder by the hand, asked him, whether he would not attend him to the castle of Ithome, where he intended to sacrifice. This castle commanded the city of Messene, and kept the farther parts of Peloponnesus in awe, as Acro-Corinth, which he was already possessed of, over-awed the rest. Ithome was held by some of the popular faction, who, looking upon Philip as their deliverer, admitted him without the least jealousy. While the sacrifice was performing, the entrails of the victim being, according to custom, put into his hands, he shewed them to Aratus, and, with a smile, asked him, whether they prognosticated, that, being now in possession of so important a place, he should tamely part with it, or keep it for his own use. Aratus made no reply; but Demetrius Pharius, though the king had not asked his advice, gave this officious answer: "If you are a sooth-sayer, you must quietly be gone from hence; but if you are a king, you must not let slip so fair an opportunity, but hold the ox fast by his horns;" alluding to Ithome and Acro-Corinth, which were called the two horns of Peloponnesus. The king, however, insisted upon knowing the sentiments of Aratus, who told him, that, if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if, by seizing Ithome, he must lose the strongest castle he had, his credit, he thought it far more adviseable to deliver it to its owners. This advice Philip followed for

*Aratus re-
tires from
Philip's
court.*

Yr. of Fl.
213.
Ante Chr.
216.

*Philip
causes him
to be poi-
soned.*

the present, but ever after maintained a secret dislike to Aratus; which he perceiving, retired from court, and led a private life at Sicyon, where he had leisure to repent his ever calling the Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Philip, having now got rid of so troublesome a censor, marched his forces into Epirus, where he seized on the town of Oricum, and laid siege to Apollonia, which he was soon forced to raise in a most shameful manner, his camp being surprised by the Roman prætor Lævinus, and himself forced to make his escape half naked. After this disappointment, he returned to Peloponnesus, not having yet laid aside the thoughts of subjecting the Messenians; but they, being now on their guard, refused to admit him into their city: whereupon, calling them his enemies, he laid waste the whole country, and retired, without being able to reduce the place. The Achæans, who were his confederates, refused to lend him any help for such an enterprize; for Messene was at that time a member of the Achæan body. This backwardness of his confederates he ascribed to Aratus; and therefore, as he did not now scruple to commit the most heinous crimes, he resolved to sacrifice both the father and son to his resentment. He durst not employ open force and violence, on account of their great reputation, and the respect which was universally paid to their virtue; but charged Taurion, one of his officers, to dispatch first the elder Aratus secretly, during his absence. Taurion obeyed the wicked command, though not without some reluctance. He insinuated himself into Aratus's friendship, and often invited him to dinner: by which means, he found an opportunity to take away his life with a poison which was sure, but slow in its operation. Aratus was not ignorant of the cause of the lingering distemper which he fell into; but, reflecting that complaints would only create new disturbances, he bore it patiently, as if it had been a common and natural disease: one day only, happening to spit blood before one Cephalion, who was his bosom-friend, and seemed somewhat surpris'd, he said, "Behold, my dear Cephalion, the effect of friendship with kings." He died at Ægium, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, being then prætor of the Achæans for the seventeenth time. The Sicyonians claimed the honour of burying him, as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly they went to Ægium, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceased hero to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes

odes in commendation of his eminent virtues, and exalted qualities. He was interred, with the utmost pomp and solemnity, in the highest part of the city, which was ever after called Aratium. The Achæans decreed, that divine honours should be paid him, and appointed a priest for that purpose ².

Aratus was, without all doubt, one of the greatest men of his time, and may justly be styled one of the founders of the Achæan republic, he having brought it to that form and splendor, by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, his talent lay more in contriving a warlike stratagem, in forming and projecting extraordinary enterprizes, than in executing them. In his administration, he was guilty of one very great error, which was, the calling in the kings of Macedon to the assistance of the republic; an expedient which no well-wisher to his country could approve, and was the more dishonourable in him, as he was prompted to it out of jealousy to Cleomenes, king of Sparta: for that prince, after having reduced the Achæans to the last extremity, was willing to restore the prisoners, and all the places he had taken, on condition that they would create him prætor of Achaia. The Achæans were inclined to accept of a peace on these terms; but Aratus, thinking it would be very dishonourable for him, who had, for many years, borne the chief sway in the republic, to be thus supplanted by a young man, used his utmost efforts to dissuade the Achæans from yielding to the conditions proposed by Cleomenes; and, because they could no longer oppose that warlike prince without foreign assistance, he had recourse to Antigonus, king of Macedon, put him in possession of Acro-Corinth, and thereby enabled him, and his successors, to manage the affairs of Greece at their pleasure ³.

His character.

These inhuman and tyrannical proceedings of Philip highly incensed the Achæans against him, as he afterwards found by experience, when they were more at liberty to act as they pleased. At present they were not in a condition to support themselves without him, the Ætolians, their irreconcilable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the Romans, against the king, and his confederates. The principal article of this new alliance was, that the conquests should belong to the allies; but

² Polyb. lib. viii. p. 518, 519. Plut. in Arato.
Cleom. & Arat.

³ Plut. in

Yr. of Fl.
2139.
Ante Chr.
209.

*New troops
in
Greece.*

*The Æto-
lians de-
feated.*

the booty and slaves to the Romans. Their calling ~~in~~ thus the Barbarians (for so the Greeks styled all nations, except their own), provoked them more against the Ætolians than all the mischief Philip had done them; wherefore they resolved, in their general assembly, to join the king against the Ætolians, and their confederates. Thus a new war was kindled in Greece, between Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Romans, Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, Eleans, king Attalus, and Scerdilaidas, on the other. The Ætolians immediately began hostilities, invading, and laying waste the Achæan territories: whereupon the Achæans dispatched deputies to Philip, who was then in Thrace, imploring his assistance, Philip readily complied with their request; but the Ætolians, joined by some Romans, and the forces which Attalus had brought with him out of Asia, marched to meet Philip, before his junction with the Achæans. Both armies met near Lamia, a city of Thessaly. The Ætolians were commanded by Pyrrhus, who had been that year appointed their general, in conjunction with king Attalus. Philip proffered him battle; and he, thinking it would be disreputable in him to decline it the very first year of his command, rashly engaged, and was entirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he collected the scattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing some brilliant action before the end of the campaign; but Philip attacked him the second time, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shut themselves up in Lamia. This double overthrow so disheartened the Ætolians, that they sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with Philip and the Achæans; for the Romans having put the Ætolians in motion, were retired to Corcyra, persuaded that the king had so much business upon his hands, that he could not have time to think of Italy or Hannibal. Philip put off the negotiations of peace till the next assembly of the Achæans, and granted the Ætolians a truce of thirty days. When the assembly met, the Ætolian ambassadors being introduced, made such unreasonable proposals, as to take away all hopes of an accommodation: whereupon Philip, and the Achæans, being resolved to pursue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having so many enemies to oppose at the same time. The king, leaving four thousand men with the Achæans, to defend their country, went to assist at the Nemeæan games in the city of Argos; and from thence returning into Achaia, marched,

marched, in conjunction with Cyeliades, the Achæan prætor, against the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced, in battle-array, to the very gates of the city, hoping, thereby, to draw the Etolians to an engagement. Accordingly they sallied out, when Philip was surprised to find, that the garrison partly consisted of Romans; for Sulpitius, having left Naupactus with fifteen galleys, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The battle was very bloody, and many fell on both sides. In the heat of the action, Damophantes, general of the Elean horse, espying Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced against him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him, without stirring from his post; and, having unhorsed him at the first encounter, fell upon the enemy's cavalry with such resolution, that they quickly betook themselves to flight: but the Romans charging the Macedonians with great vigour, the latter began to give way; a circumstance which Philip observing, spurred on his horse, and rushed headlong into the midst of the Romans, where his horse being wounded, threw him on the ground. The Macedonians then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party signalizing themselves in a very extraordinary manner, the Romans, with a view to take the king prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king was carried off, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Romans, and the Macedonians obliged to retire at a greater distance from the town. Next day Philip invested and took a strong place from the Eleans, where he found a great booty, consisting of twenty thousand head of cattle, besides four thousand Eleans, whom he sold for slaves. This acquisition made amends for his disappointment at Elis^b. But, in the mean time, news was brought him, that the Dardians had made an incursion into Macedon; whereupon he immediately set out to defend his own country, leaving with the Achæans a body of two thousand five hundred men. At the same time Sulpitius sailed back with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and passed the winter. During the king's absence, the Achæans gained a considerable victory over the Ætolians and Eleans, near the city of Messene.

The Romans assist the Ætolians.

Philopœmen's gallant behaviour.

^b Polyb. lib. x. p. 612, & seq. Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 29, 33. Plut. in Philop.

Yr. of Fl.
2141.
Ante Chr.
207.

*Oreum in
Eubœa be-
trayed to
the Romans.*

*Philopœ-
men ap-
pointed
prætor
of the
Achaens.*

*His cha-
racter.*

Early in the spring, Sulpitius and Attalus, quitting their winter-quarters, sailed with their fleets to Lemnos, and thence advanced to Oreum, a chief city of Eubœa, which was treacherously delivered up to them by Plator, the Macedonian commander. Attalus laid siege to the city of Opus, in Achaia, and Philip advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day. The city had surrendered a little before his arrival; but Attalus, the instant he heard of his approach, abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ships.

While Philip was thus employed against Attalus, and the Romans, Machanidas, who had succeeded Lycurgus, tyrant of Lacedæmon, advanced, at the head of a powerful army, to the borders of Achaia, with a design to lay waste the country, and oblige Philip to leave the enemy, and relieve his allies. He could not have chosen a more improper season for such an expedition; for Philopœmen had been that year appointed, for the first time, commander in chief of the Achæan forces. As we shall often have occasion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to say something of those extraordinary qualifications, which rendered him worthy of the honours that were afterwards conferred upon him by the Achæan republic. He was born in Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, in Peloponnesus; and, from his very infancy, discovered a strong inclination to the profession of arms. He was nobly educated by Cassander, of Mantinea, a man of great probity, and uncommon abilities. He was no sooner able to bear arms, than he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, and in these inroads never failed to give some remarkable instance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure time in hunting, and such other manly exercises. When Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis, we have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less some time after, in the battle of Sellasia, where Antigonus gained a complete victory over Cleomenes. Antigonus, who had been an eye-witness of his prudent and intrepid behaviour, made very advantageous offers to gain him over to his interest; but he rejected them, having an utter aversion to a court life, which he compared to that of a slave, saying, that a courtier was but a slave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and inactive,

tive, he went to the isle of Crete, which was then engaged in war, and served there as a volunteer, till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that island were, in those days, accounted excellent warriors, being scarce ever at peace among themselves. Philopœmen, having served some years among the troops of that island, returned home; and was, upon his arrival, appointed general of the horse; in which command he behaved so well, that the Achæan horse, heretofore of no reputation, became, in a short time, famous all over Greece. He was soon after appointed general of all the Achæan forces, when he applied himself to the re-establishing of military discipline among the troops of the republic, which he found in a very low condition, and universally despised by their neighbours. Aratus, indeed, was the first that raised the Achæan state to that pitch of power and glory to which it arrived; but the success of his enterprizes was not so much owing to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on the friendship of foreign princes, and their powerful succours, he neglected the military discipline at home; but the instant Philopœmen was created prætor, or commander in chief, he roused the courage of his countrymen, in order to put them into a condition to defend themselves, without the assistance of foreign allies. With this view he made great improvements in the Achæan discipline, changing the manner of their exercise, and their arms, which were both very defective. He had thus, for the space of eight months, exercised his troops every day, making them perform all the motions and evolutions, and accustoming them to manage, with dexterity, their arms, when news was brought him, that Machanidas was advancing, at the head of a numerous army, to invade Achaia. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his discipline; and, accordingly, taking the field, met the enemy in the territories of Mantinea, where a battle was fought, of which we have spoken elsewhere. Philopœmen, having killed Machanidas with his own hand, struck off his head, and carried it from rank to rank, to encourage his victorious Achæans, who continued the pursuit, with great slaughter, and incredible ardor, to the city of Tegea, which they entered, together with the fugitives. The Lacedæmonians lost, on this occasion, above eight thousand men, of which four thousand were killed on the spot, and as many taken prisoners. The loss of the Achæans

Achæans was very inconsiderable, and those that fell were mostly mercenaries^c.

Yr. of Fl.

2144.

Ante Chr.

304.

*A general
peace con-
cluded.*

This victory over the Lacedæmonians, and the many advantages gained by Philip, inclined the Ætolian faction to sue for a peace with great earnestness. King Attalus was returned home, to defend his own kingdom against Prusias, king of Bithynia, who had invaded it: the Romans had so much business on their hands at home, Afrubal being ready to enter Italy, and join his brother, that they concerned themselves very little with the affairs of Greece, leaving their friends there to shift for themselves. The Ætolians, therefore, finding themselves thus deserted by their most powerful allies, concluded a peace with Philip and the Achæans, upon very disadvantageous conditions. Scarcely was the peace agreed on, when P. Sempronius, the proconsul, arrived, with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five galleys, to succour the Ætolians. When he heard how affairs went in Greece, he was very much offended at the Ætolians, for concluding a peace without the consent of the Roman senate, contrary to the express words of the treaty. However, he was easily prevailed upon to come into their measures, and, in the name of his republic, to conclude a peace with Philip and his allies; for the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the Epirots and Acarnanians, that the Romans and Philip should be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. Philip caused the king of Bithynia, the Achæans, the Boeotians, the Thes-salians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be comprehended in the treaty. The Romans, on their side, named king Attalus, Pleuratus, a petty prince of Illyricum, Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, the people of Elis, the Messenians, and the Athenians. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the Romans, that they might carry on the war against the Carthaginians with more vigour^d.

The peace, thus concluded, was not of long continuance. Philip, having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the Carthaginians, his friends in the West, declined apace, began to study how he might enlarge his dominions in the East. Accordingly, he invaded, at the same time, the Rhodians, the Athenians,

^c Polyb. lib. xi. p. 629, 631. Plut. in Philip. xxix. n. 12.

^d Liv. lib.

and king Attalus, contrary to the late treaty: whereupon war was declared against him by the Romans, and Sulpitius the consul appointed to carry it on. The Achæans and Lacedæmonians joined Philip: the former he gained over to his interest, by restoring to them the cities of Orchomenos, Heræa, and Triphylia, which he had formerly appropriated to himself. He likewise put the Megalopolitans in possession of the city of Aliphera, to which they laid claim; and, by these means, kept them for some time in his alliance. The Romans watched all opportunities of engaging so powerful a people in their interest, and at last found a very favourable occasion. When the Roman consul Sulpitius arrived first in Greece, one Cyliades was prætor of the Achæans, a man entirely devoted to the Macedonian party, being supported in his tyrannical government by the protection of Philip. The Achæans, suspecting that he aimed at absolute power, and was concerting measures with the Macedonians to bring their republic under subjection, as Nabis had lately acted at Sparta, expelled him, and put the government into the hands of Aristenes, who, on all occasions, had given signal proofs of his affection to the Romans. This opportunity the consul laid hold of, to bring Achaia into an alliance with Rome; but left the execution of the design to his brother Quinctius, who immediately sent a deputation to the Achæans, offering to put them in possession of Corinth, which had formerly belonged to them, if they would join the Romans. This was a powerful attractive: however, as Philip had done them many important services, they were unwilling to disoblige him; besides, they were under no small apprehension of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, who had openly declared for Philip. At the same time they were afraid of the Romans, who seemed to be an over-match for the Macedonians. These were the dispositions of the Achæans, when they assembled at Sicyon, to hear the Roman ambassadors, who came attended with deputies from king Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, on purpose to dispel their fears, and make the strongest impressions on the minds of so cautious a people. Philip likewise sent an ambassador to the assembly, named Cleomedon, whose intrigues the Romans had reason to fear, he being a man of great interest in Achaia. The ambassadors being introduced, L. Calpurnius, who spoke for the Romans, was first heard;

The Achæans join Philip against the Romans.

The Achæans solicited by Quinctius to declare for the Romans.

• Idem, lib. xxxii. n. 5.

after

after him, the deputies from Attalus, and the Rhodians; and then Cleomedon. What the latter said was heard with great attention; but the Athenians, who spoke the last, effaced, in a great measure, the prejudices which Cleomedon had raised. All these different speeches divided the Achæans more than ever, insomuch that they broke up the session, which had lasted the whole day, without coming to any resolution.

Next day the assembly met again, the deputies only of the Achæan cities being admitted to give their opinions, and come to some final resolution. An herald, according to custom, invited those to speak, who had a right of voting; but they all continued in a deep silence, gazing at one another, not daring to explain their sentiments in so perplexed an affair. At last Aristenes, president of the assembly, broke silence, and addressed himself to the deputies in this manner: "What is become of that warmth and vigour with which you used to dispute at your banquets, sometimes contending for Philip against the Romans, and sometimes for the Romans against Philip? You were then decisive; and now, in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and reasons on both sides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot extort a word from you; will not your inclination for one or the other party loosen your tongues, especially as you know, that it will be too late to speak, after the resolution shall be once taken?"

These reproaches, however reasonable and judicious, could not prevail with any of the members to give their opinion. There was an universal silence in the assembly, till Aristenes resumed the discourse, and, in a long harangue, represented to them the situation of their affairs, urging the necessity of their joining the Romans, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance, which they had condescended to request. But his discourse did not bring the Achæans to an agreement among themselves: the disputes grew warm, some applauding what Aristenes had said, and others opposing it with great violence. Even the demiurgi, or heads of the deputies, were not unanimous: five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with the Romans; the other five protested against it, declaring, that it was against law to decree any thing in the assembly, with relation to their alliance with Philip. And indeed that prince had caused

a clause to be inserted in his treaty with the Achæans; to this effect; that the affair of his alliance should no more be canvassed in the general assembly. The assembly was to sit but one day longer; and even this short time was spent in warm disputes. Memnon of Pellene was steady for Philip; and his father, whose name was Rhiafius, no less sanguine for Rome. The father conjured him a long time not to oppose the welfare of his country; but, finding that his prayers did not avail, he protested; that he would treat him as an enemy, and put him to death, in case he did not yield to his opinion. Such menaces, uttered by a father, made so deep an impression in the mind of Memnon, that he immediately came over to the party of Rome. At last, the majority were for the Romans; but, before the decree was passed, the deputies of Dymæ and Megalopolis, and some of the Argians, withdrew from the assembly; a step which no one took offence at, because they had particular obligations to Philip. The deputies of the other cities followed the most prudent advice, and immediately concluded an alliance with Attalus, and the Rhodians; but deferred the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till the return of the ambassadors they sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the senate ^g.

The Achæans conclude an alliance with the Romans.

But, in the mean time, the Achæans gave assistance to the Romans to reduce Corinth. The city was attacked, on the side of Cenchrea, by Quinctius; at the gate Sicyon, by the Achæans; and, on the side of the port Lechæum, by Attalus. They, at first, carried on the attack but faintly, hoping that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. But Androsthenes, who commanded in the place for Philip, had gained the affection of the Corinthians; and being supplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many Roman deserters, who expected no quarter if the city should be taken, he obliged the besiegers to drop the enterprize ^h.

Corinth besieged by the Romans and Achæans.

They were no sooner retired than Philocles, one of king Philip's generals, marched his troops into Achæia, which had so lately joined the Romans, and drew near the city of Argos. He was not ignorant that the citizens still retained an affection for the Macedonian party, of which they had very lately given a signal proof. It had long been a custom among the Argians to invoke Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules on the first day of their assembly,

The siege raised.

Yr. of Fl.
2151.
Ante Chr.
197.

The Macedonians possess themselves of Corinth.

^g Liv. lib. xxxii. not. 22.

^h Idem ibid. not. 25.

Ænefidemus's gallant behaviour, and glorious death.

and add to the names of these gods that of the king of Macedon; but, after the Achæans had entered into an alliance with the Romans, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit Philip's name. This omission displeased the Argians, who loudly demanded that the king's name should be joined to those of the tutelary gods of their country. Philocles, therefore, depending on this affection for his master, advanced with his troops near Argos; and, in the night, posted them on an eminence which overlooked the city; but the town was defended by a strong garrison, which the Achæans had placed there, under the command of one Ænefidemus, who was greatly attached to the Roman interest. To him, therefore, Philocles sent a messenger, summoning him to deliver up the city, which he could not defend against the Macedonians without, and the citizens within the walls, who were all determined to shake off the Roman yoke. This summons did not move the brave commander, who thought himself in a condition to withstand the menaces of the Macedonian, though his garrison consisted only of five hundred men; but he was not a little surprised when he saw all the citizens take up arms, and, in a tumultuous manner, commanded him to march out of the city. Ænefidemus knew it was a rash attempt to oppose the multitude with such a handful of men; he had also compassion for the brave youth under his command; and therefore, having agreed that they should march out unmolested, remained himself in the city, with a small number of his friends and clients. Philocles, surprised to see the commander remain in his post after the soldiers were gone, sent to ask him, "Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do?" To which message the brave Achæan answered, "To die in the place committed to my care." Philocles immediately ordered his Thracians to discharge their arrows at him; and, thus overwhelmed, he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had concluded with the Romans. Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos¹.

Argos delivered to Nabis.

It was of the utmost importance for Philip to preserve the city of Argos; but the difficulty was, how to continue master of a place in the center of Achaia, and at so great a distance from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it to the famous Nabis,

¹ Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 25.

who had usurped the sovereignty of Lacedæmon, and was in a condition to defend it. The terms upon which he delivered it were, that he should possess it as his own if Philip lost his life in the war; but restore it if he should be alive at the re-establishment of peace. The tyrant willingly complied with these conditions, having nothing in view but to plunder the place, and to enrich himself with the spoils of the unfortunate Argians; who, foreseeing what must befall them, refused to admit the Lacedæmonians within their walls. But Nabis, by the help of Philocles, was brought into the city in the night; and, before the inhabitants were aware, had possessed himself of all the advantageous posts, and caused the gates to be shut. Some of the chief magistrates made their escape in the tumult; and this the tyrant made use of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiscated the estates of those that had fled; and then, knowing there was no opposition, set no bounds to his oppressions: he commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, silver, and jewels; putting to the rack, and treating like slaves, such as he suspected to conceal any part of their riches: he assembled the magistrates, and, at their first meeting, notified to them two decrees, which he obliged them to pass. By the first he cancelled all old debts; and, by the second, ordered a new division to be made of the lands, whereof every citizen should have an equal share. Thus he set the rich against the poor, and put the whole city in a flame *.

Nabis's tyrannical government.

Nabis knew he could not keep Argos without a powerful protection; and therefore, forgetting on what conditions he held it, ambassadors were sent to Flaminius and Attalus, inviting them to an interview. The pro-consul and Attalus accepted the invitation, without examining into the injustice and treachery of the tyrant; and a place near Argos was appointed for their conferences. In the interview Flaminius insisted upon two conditions; first, that Nabis should end the war in Achaia; and secondly, that he should furnish the confederates with his contingent of troops to act against Philip. The tyrant agreed to the second article; but would allow only of a four months truce with the Achæans. The treaty, however, was concluded; and Nabis, who was so infamous for his cruelty and injustice, joined in confederacy with the Ro-

He joins the Romans.

* Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 28.

mans: an alliance which reflected no small dishonour on their general¹.

The Achæans continued steady in the Roman interest during the whole course of this war; and their prætor, Nicostratus, signalized himself on the following occasion: Philip had left one Androsthenes, with a body of six thousand men, in Corinth, to protect that city and its districts from the insults of the Achæans, and other Greeks of the Roman faction. Androsthenes, thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the Corinthian territory, marched out, at the head of his little army, and over-ran great part of Achaia. Nicostratus, the Achæan prætor, had but two thousand men under his command; and these were too few to oppose the superior forces of the Macedonian, who advanced to the very walls of Sicyon, to insult the prætor there in garrison. As Androsthenes was under no apprehension of being attacked by so contemptible a foe, his troops were often dispersed in small bodies, and his army seldom in one place. This conduct gave Nicostratus hopes of being able to surprise him; and, accordingly, he sent orders to the garrisons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous, on a day appointed, at a little city, called Apelaûrum, in Argolis. His orders were obeyed; and the prætor set out from thence at the head of five thousand seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The horse he detached to observe the enemy's motions, and by them received advice, that they were encamped on the river Nemea (U), between Corinth and Sicyon; and that the Macedonian, having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of Sicyon, another into that of Pellene (X), and the third towards Phlius (Y).

¹ Idem ibid. Polyb. lib. xiii. sub finem. Plut. in Flamin.

(U) The river Nemea watered part of Peloponnesus, and discharged itself into the Gulf of Corinth. It is now called the Largia.

(X) Pellene, called by Stephanus, Pellina, was a city of Achaia Propria, and bordered upon the territory of Sicyon. Genistus calls it Cercoba, and Le Noir gives it the name

of Zaracha. It is now called Diacopton. It is about sixty furlongs distant from the Gulf of Corinth.

(Y) This city Livy calls Phlasius (1). We must take care not to confound it with another bearing the same name in Argolis. The Phlius here spoken of, was in Achaia.

(1) Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 14.

Upon this advice, Nicostratus placed his mercenaries in a forest, through which the Macedonians were to pass in their return to Corinth, while he led the rest, in two bodies, to attack Androsthene in his camp. The Macedonians were greatly surprised when they saw the Achæans marching directly to their camp. Androsthene, ordering the trumpets to give the signal for assembling the troops that were straggling about in the villages, drew up the small body he had with him on the banks of the river; but the parties that were out not returning soon enough to join him, he was easily defeated. This advantage encouraged Nicostratus to fall upon the Macedonians that were laying waste the territory of Sicyon. There few of them escaped, being surrounded on all sides before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for those who were ravaging the country about Pellene and Phlius, they were either murdered by the inhabitants, or cut in pieces by the mercenaries who lay concealed in the forest. This action freed Achaia from all fear of the Macedonians, and redoubled Philip's concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow which he received in the plain of Cynocephalæ^m.

The Macedonians defeated by the Achæans.

These repeated losses obliged Philip to accept of a peace on such conditions as Rome and her allies were pleased to impose. The principal article relating to Greece was, that Philip should evacuate all the places he possessed in Greece, and withdraw his garrisons before the celebration of the Isthmian games. Pursuant to this article, ten commissioners were sent from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, and restore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All Greece received the news of this peace with the greatest transports of joy. The Ætolians alone were discontented, and inveighed bitterly against the Romans; because, among the cities that were to be set at liberty, no mention was made of Corinth, Chalcis, Oreos, Eretria, and Demetrias, which were all in the hands of the Romans. The Ætolians suspected, that Rome designed to appropriate them to herself; in which case, Greece, said they, would indeed change its masters, but not its condition. The suspicion of the Ætolians was not ill-grounded; for the ten commissioners, pursuant to the instruction of the senate, had omitted the names of these cities, with a design to keep them, as they were the keys of Greece, and thereby prevent Antiochus

Yr. of Fl.
2152.
Ante Chr.
196.

Peace concluded with Philip.

^m Liv. *ibid.*

from entering that country. But the pro-consul prevailed with them to extend the decree to all the cities in Greece, not one excepted. By these means, the Achæans were put into possession of Corinth. Nevertheless, it was resolved in the council of the ten commissioners, that the citadel of Corinth, and the two cities of Demetrias and Chalcis, should be held by the Romans as long as they were under any apprehensions of a war with Antiochus^a.

*The Greeks
declared
free by the
Romans.*

And now the time of the Isthmian games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be transacted there, kept every body in suspense. The decree of the Roman commissioners was not yet divulged, and the future fate of Greece was the topic of all conversations. Some, but very few, hoped their liberty would be restored. Most of that numerous assembly could not be persuaded, that the Romans would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude were in this uncertainty when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The pro-consul Flaminius, attended by the ten commissioners, took his place; silence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the usual form of words; but the Greeks, to their great surprize, heard him utter the following words: "The senate and people of Rome, and Quinctius Flaminius, pro-consul, after having overcome Philip, and quieted Macedon, declare the Corinthians, the Phocæans, the Locri, all the Eubœans in the island, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, the Perroëbi, the Achæans, and Phthiotés, free from all kind of servitude. All these nations shall live in an independent state, and be governed only by their own laws." In this vast assembly, all had not heard equally the voice of the herald, occasioned by the noise and confusion which immediately arose. Such as were at a greater distance left their places to ask those who were nearer what they had heard. At last there was a universal outcry from all corners of the stadium, demanding that the herald should repeat the proclamation. Then the trumpet sounded again, and the herald with a more distinct and loud voice, proclaimed liberty to all the Greeks without exception. He was heard with the most profound silence, and not a single word of the decree was lost. And now, being fully assured of their happiness, they expressed their satisfaction with such transports of

^a Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 30, 35. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795, 800. Plut. in Flamin.

joy as are not to be conceived (Z). They all crouded round Flaminus, calling him the deliverer of Greece, and pressing to kiss his hand. The croud was so great, and they threw so many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being stifled, had not the vigour of his age, he being then in his thirty-third year, and that joy which so glorious a scene raised in his breast, enabled him to undergo so great a fatigue. At length the games began; but the spectators could look at nothing but the protector and restorer of their liberties, admiring the disinterestedness of the Romans in general, and the conduct of the pro-consul in particular°. But, after all, Rome found her account in these acts of generosity; for they gained her the hearts of the Greek nation, and by that acquisition encreased her power without enlarging her dominions.

After this solemnity, the pro-consul, to complete the work, convened a general assembly at Corinth, and there declared, that he would evacuate Demetrias, Chalcis, and Acro-Corinth; which he relinquished accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey to Rome. The Greeks, with tears in their eyes, assured him, that they should ever retain a grateful remembrance of so gracious a protector; and, to give him, before their departure, some pledge of their affection, they fought for all the Romans that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of Greece, and delivered them up to him without ransom. They amounted to twelve thousand, the greatest part of them having been taken by Hanibal in Italy, and sold to the Greeks. The Achæans alone bore the charge of their redemption, which amounted to a hundred talents. With this attendance the pro-consul, after having withdrawn the Roman forces from Acro-Corinth, Demetrias, and Chalcis, embarked at Oricum on his return to Italy, leaving Greece to enjoy the happiness which he had restored^p.

The only circumstance that reflected dishonour on Flaminus, and stained his reputation, was his leaving the usurper Nabis in possession of Lacedæmon, without ever

Demetrias, Chalcis, Acro-Corinth, evacuated by the Romans.

Nabis left in possession of Sparta.

• Plut. in Flamin. p Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 4. Plut. in Flamin.

(Z) Plutarch tells us, that a body of people, that some the air was put into such a violent agitation by the acclamations and shouts of so numerous

a body of people, that some crows, which were accidentally flying over the assembly, fell down in the arena (1).

(1) Plut. in Flamin.

once mentioning, in the treaty of peace, the unhappy Ageſipolis, who was the lawful heir, and had fought, during the war, under the Roman standards (A).

The Achæans declare war against Nabis.

Not long after the departure of the Romans, Nabis began to raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were garrisoned by the Achæans, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid siege to Gythium, an important place, which Flaminius had taken from him. These hostilities obliged the Achæans to have recourse to the Romans, who sent Flaminius again into Greece, to enquire into the state of affairs on the spot. At his arrival, he found Nabis engaged in the siege of Gythium, and the Achæans assembled at their general diet, which was held at Sicyon. The assembly were for taking up arms immediately, and invading the Lacedæmonian territories; but Flaminius advised them to wait the arrival of the Roman fleet, which the prætor Bæbius was ordered to bring to their assistance. Nevertheless, the assembly was still in suspense what part to act, and the leading men divided among themselves; some were for following the

(A). Plutarch accounts for this strange proceeding; and tells us, that Flaminius proposed only such conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to Rome, because the reputation of Philopœmen began to eclipse his. They were both in the same camp, and in the same confederacy; and the soldiers, in their discourses, often compared them together, always preferring the Greek general to the Roman. They imputed the pro-consul's successes to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimously agreed, that Philopœmen's victories were entirely owing to himself. And truly, says our author, no one understood better than Philopœmen how to draw up an army, seize advantageous posts, suit

the disposition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack seasonably, or judge of the critical time for a retreat (2). Flaminius, on the other side, though inferior to the Achæan in the art of commanding armies, yet far surpassed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheless, he was very uneasy to see himself surpassed by a Greek in that character, which most dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him so zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the most judicious among the Greeks, who were for pursuing Nabis to the last extremity, knowing, that Greece would never enjoy a lasting peace so long as Nabis wore the crown of Lacedæmon.

(2) Plut. in Flamin. & Philopœm.

advice of Flaminius, others for attacking the Lacedæmonians without loss of time: they only waited for the decision of Philopœmen, who was then prætor, and presided in the assembly. But that prudent general was not in haste to give his opinion: "It is a wise institution of ours," said he, "that our prætors shall not deliver their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace." These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it; and a decree was issued, ordering troops to be levied without delay, and leaving the whole management of the war to Philopœmen^q.

The brave Achæan, being invested with this power, was in doubt what to do; on one hand, he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the Roman fleet, according to the advice of Flaminius; on the other side, he judged it might be dangerous to suffer Nabis to pursue the siege of Gythium, and expose the Achæan garrison to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was, to get ready the Achæan ships, with a design to give the besieged some relief, and interrupt the attacks of the enemy, at least towards the sea. But this design required a man of some experience in maritime affairs; whereas Philopœmen, though not inferior to any land-officer, had never been on board a ship but in order to go over to Crete as a passenger: however, he took upon him the command of the Achæan fleet, imagining, that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land. But he found, to his cost, how useful experience is on all occasions; for Nabis, who had fitted out a few ships, filled with rowers and soldiers used to sea-fights, fell upon him, and, at the first onset, dispersed his fleet, took some of his ships, and sunk others. Philopœmen was very near being taken; but as he had the caution to go on board a light vessel before the engagement, he made his escape; and, though pursued close by the enemy, got safe into the port of Patræ^r.

Philopœmen defeated by sea.

The fate of this ill-concerted expedition did not discourage the brave Philopœmen, but only taught him to act with greater caution and prudence for the future.

^q Plut. in Philopœm. Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 15.
Liv. *ibid.*

^r Plut. &

Nabis,

*He gains a
complete
victory
over Nabis
by land.*

Nabis, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would be made to throw any succours into Gythium; therefore turning the siege into a blockade, he left only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the rest guarded the passes through which succours might be brought to the besieged city, especially a port called Pleiæ. In this camp Philopœmen resolved to attack the Lacedæmonians; accordingly, having gathered together some boats, and manned them with Achæans, he ordered them to advance towards Pleiæ, while he marched along shore to the same place. Both the boats and Philopœmen, with his army, arrived at Pleiæ in the night, and found the enemy fast asleep, without any watch, as thinking themselves in a secure place. Upon the first signal, firebrands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the Achæan general at the same time surrounded the camp, to fall on those who might attempt to make their escape. As the Lacedæmonians were not furnished with tents, they had made huts of branches of trees, which, taking fire, obliged them to fly in great confusion. But such as escaped the flames were cut in pieces by the Achæans, who had seized on all the passes; so that very few reached the camp before Gythium. Philopœmen, having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been lessened by the failure of his maritime expedition, assembled the Achæans, in order to consult with them about the measures he should take for the relief of Gythium. It was resolved in the assembly, that he should advance to Lacedæmon, as if he designed to lay siege to that city. This, they thought, would be the best expedient to make a powerful diversion, and force Nabis to raise the siege. But, in the mean time, the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the Achæan army appeared before Lacedæmon. Nabis, therefore, without loss of time, hastened to Lacedæmon, and found the Achæans marching through a narrow pass, their several bodies being at a considerable distance from each other. Philopœmen was not a little surprised at the sudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowness of the place doubled his concern: however, without shewing any uneasiness, he drew up his men in the most artful manner possible; he posted his Achæans in the first line, and behind them the Cretan auxiliaries; his cavalry he ranged by the side of a brook for the convenience of watering their horses; he placed his baggage on the top of a rock, with a detachment to guard

guard it. In this disposition he waited till the enemy came up, without fearing the consequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the same posture. Philopœmen, in the night-time, posted a strong body of his best troops in a valley, ordering his horse to retire, till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horse engaged first. The Achæan cavalry was commanded by Lycortas, the father of Polybius the historian. At first the dispute was warm, and the advantage equal; but Lycortas, according to the orders he had received, in the heat of the engagement, began to give ground, and, retiring in good order, drew the enemy into the ambuscade; then, facing about, he attacked them in front, while the troops that lay concealed, flanked them with incredible fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the Lacedæmonian cavalry betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and most of them would have been cut in pieces, had not the Achæan general, who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the enemy, founded a retreat. Nabis, suspecting that Philopœmen designed to seize the passes leading to Lacedæmon, and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part of his troops to prevent him. This report Philopœmen had caused to be spread in the Lacedæmonian camp by one of his own men, who fled thither as a deserter; and accordingly made his advantage of it: for Nabis was no sooner gone, than he attacked his son-in-law Pythagoras, who was left to guard the camp; and, forcing the trenches, possessed himself of the baggage and warlike engines. He left a detachment in the enemy's camp, and, with the rest of the army, pursued the fugitives with great slaughter. The Lacedæmonians being now entirely dispersed, he divided his army into a great many small bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that led to the gates of Lacedæmon, being apprised, that, by the favour of the night, such as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His design succeeded, and the Lacedæmonians were either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners, as they were in the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant lost the flower of his troops; and Philopœmen, after having laid waste great part of Laconia, returned home, loaded with spoils and glory.

But what most of all raised the fame and reputation of Philopœmen, was his joining the powerful city of Lacedæmon

Yr. of Fl.
2157.
Ante Chr.
191.

*Sparta
joined to
the Achæan
league.*

*A great in-
stance of
Philopœ-
men's disin-
terested-
ness.*

dæmon to the Achæan commonwealth; by which means the Achæans came to eclipse all the other states of Greece. This memorable event we have already related; and therefore shall only add here one circumstance, which, in our opinion, reflects greater lustre on Philopœmen than all his warlike exploits. The Lacedæmonians, overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the oppressions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of Nabis to be sold; and the sum accruing from thence, to the amount of a hundred and twenty talents, to be presented to Philopœmen, as a token of their gratitude. Deputies therefore were to be appointed, who should carry the money, and desire Philopœmen, in the name of the senate, to accept of the present. On this occasion it was, that the virtue of the generous Achæan appeared in its greatest lustre; for so great was the opinion which the Spartans had of his probity and disinterestedness, that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the present: struck with veneration, and fear of displeasing him, they all begged to be excused. At last they obliged, by a public decree, one Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest, to go to Megalopolis, where Philopœmen lived, and offer him this testimony of their regard. Timolaus, with great reluctance, set out for Megalopolis, where he was kindly received and entertained by Philopœmen. Here he had an opportunity of observing the strictness of his whole conduct, the greatness of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners; which struck him with such awe, that he did not dare once to mention the present he was come to offer; insomuch that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the money. The Lacedæmonians sent him again; but he could no more prevail upon himself now than the first time, to mention the true cause of his journey. At last, going a third time, he ventured, with the utmost reluctance, to acquaint Philopœmen with the offer he had to make, in the name of the Lacedæmonians. Philopœmen heard him with great calmness; but the instant he had done speaking, he set out with him for Sparta, where, after having acknowledged his obligation to the Spartans, he advised them to lay out their money in reforming or purchasing those miscreants who divided the citizens, and set them at variance by means of their seditious discourses; to the end that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government: "for it is much more adviseable," said he, "to

“ to stop any enemy’s mouth than a friend’s ; as for me, I shall always be your friend, and you shall reap the benefit of my friendship without expence*.” Such was the disinterestedness of this noble Achæan !

The Achæan republic was now become formidable ; the addition of Lacedæmon had greatly increased its power ; but, at the same time, divisions arising among the confederate cities, the Romans began to let them know, that the republic of Achaia was in some degree subject to that of Rome. Messene and Elis, two cities of Achaia, had sided with Antiochus, and refused to come to the Achæan diet. Diophanes, at that time prætor, raised some troops, and advanced, at the head of them, into the territories of the two rebellious cities, laying waste the country, in order to bring them to their duty. The inhabitants had recourse to Flaminius, who then resided at Chalcis, protesting, that they had rather surrender themselves to the Romans, than live subject to the Achæans. Flaminius immediately left Chalcis, and hastening to Megalopolis, sent orders from thence to Diophanes, enjoining him to desist from hostilities, and meet him at Megalopolis. The prætor obeyed ; and Flaminius, after having gently reproved him for disturbing the peace, advised him to disband his troops, assuring him, at the same time, that he would settle the affair of the Messenians and Eleans to the satisfaction of the Achæans. Accordingly he subjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the Achæan exiles they kept in their cities. This conduct of Flaminius was greatly applauded by the Achæans ; for the Messenians earnestly intreated him to put a Roman garrison into the city, protesting, that they had rather be subject to Rome than to Achaia. But Flaminius had another point in view, which was to persuade the Achæans to deliver up to him the island of Zacynthos, which they had lately purchased. Diophanes could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to part with it : whereupon Flaminius ordered the assembly to be called, and there gave a signal proof of his abilities, convincing the Achæans, that the parting with an island, which they had lately purchased, would prove very advantageous to their republic (B).

*Messene
and Elis
revolt from
the Achæ-
ans.*

New

* Plut. in Philopœm.

(B) The speech he made on this occasion is entirely accommodated to the genius of the

Greeks. “ I look on Achaia, said he, as a sort of tortoise, which nature has guarded with its

its

New disputes among the Achæans.

New disputes soon arose among the Achæans, which gave the Romans a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies, and those nations which they had declared free. The general assembly of the Achæans had been held, time out of mind, at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who was then prætor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages which those assemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the Achæan league, and had named Argos for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of Ægium opposed this regulation, and had recourse to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who, after having reduced the Ætolians, and made himself master of Cephallenia, resided in that island, to decide, as he said, such disputes as should arise between any of the Greek cities or republics. Thus, under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the sovereign of Greece, and gave laws to the whole country. The island of Cephallenia being now in the hands of the Romans, a way was open for the legions into Peloponnesus, which was only divided from it by a small arm of the sea, about twenty-four miles over. Fulvius, therefore, upon the first notice of this dispute, crossed over into Peloponnesus, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium; but seeing that the other party was more numerous, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him that the dispute had been brought to his tribunal¹.

Yr. of Fl.
2159.
Ante Chr.
189.

The quarrel that arose between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans was of more consequence. Flaminius had given all the places on the coast of Laconia to the Achæans, who

¹ Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 28—30.

its shell. If it thrusts out its head or feet ever so little beyond its armour, it is in danger of being trod upon; and hurt. The frontier cities which surround you, Achæans, are your shell, and your natural defence: but as to any acquisitions beyond the continent, those are parts of your state which are exposed to insults, and which you cannot secure

without being at a greater charge than they are worth." This speech, which was founded on good sense, convinced the Achæans, that their new purchase would prove rather prejudicial than useful to their republic; and, therefore, they unanimously ordered, that it should be delivered up to the Romans (1).

(1) Liv. lib. xxxvi. cap. 32.

kept

kept garrisons in them, even after Lacedæmon had acceded to the Achæan league. This restraint some of the leading men among the Lacedæmonians could not brook; and therefore, to deliver themselves from this slavery, they attacked, in the night, a small city on the coast, called Las (C); but were repulsed by the inhabitants, and the Lacedæmonian exiles, who there enjoyed quiet under the protection of Achaia. This attempt alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the council of the Achæans. Philopœmen, who was an avowed friend and protector of the exiles (for they had been driven out for opposing the tyrant), was then prætor. He represented to the assembly the attempt upon Las as an insult offered to all Achaia; and caused a decree to be enacted, commanding the Lacedæmonians to deliver up the authors of that enterprize, on pain of being treated as enemies. Ambassadors were sent to Lacedæmon, to give them notice of this decree; but this step served only to exasperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of those who were known to be in the Achæan interest, dissolved their alliance with Achaia, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius, the proconsul, intreating him to come and take possession of their city. These proceedings, and the powerful protection which they were imploring, did not deter Philopœmen from declaring war against Lacedæmon. However, as the season was far advanced, the Achæans contented themselves with plundering part of the Lacedæmonian territory, and harassing the inhabitants with frequent incursions.

The Lacedæmonians attempt to withdraw themselves from the Achæan league.

At the return of the spring, both parties made preparations for war; and hostilities were carried so far, that they forced Fulvius to leave Cephalenia, and come into Peloponnesus. On his arrival he ordered an assembly to be convened at Elis, to discuss the pretensions of Achaia over Lacedæmon; but, after hearing both parties, he was so perplexed, that he could come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties; but they were too untractable to come to an accommodation. He therefore advised them to send ambassadors to Rome, and, while the cause was undecided, to suspend all hostilities. They followed his advice, and deputies were immediately dispatched to

(C) Las was situated on the Laconic Gulf, south of Sparta, *Λάσ*; signifying, in Greek, a stone. *stone.* on a stony soil, and in a country full of rocks, whence it

Rome.

Both parties send ambassadors to Rome.

Rome. The Achæans appointed two great men to plead their cause, who were of a different character. These were Diophanes, a man of moderation, and of a tractable disposition; and Lycortas, the father of Polybius, a man entirely addicted to Philopœmen. Diophanes referred the decision of the cause to the arbitration of the senate: Lycortas maintained the decree of Philopœmen, and urged, that it could not be reversed, without making void the regulations of Flaminius, who had committed the care of the coast to the Achæans. The senate was unwilling to disgust the Achæans; but, at the same time, thought the Lacedæmonians worthy of compassion. They returned, therefore, a dark and ambiguous answer, which each party interpreted in their own favour.

The Achæans pretended that it gave them full power to inflict on the Lacedæmonians the punishment they deserved: whereupon Philopœmen, who was continued in his prætorship, taking the field, marched to the walls of Lacedæmon, and there summoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon Las; promising, that they should not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promise, all those, whom Philopœmen demanded by name, set out for the Achæan camp, attended by the chief citizens of Lacedæmon, who looked upon their cause as their own. Being arrived at the camp, their malecontent countrymen crowded round them, and, with an insulting air, began to vent the most injurious expressions against them; from words they came to blows, and the Achæan officers had occasion to exert all their authority to appease the tumult. As the Lacedæmonian exiles continued complaining of their hard treatment, they engaged the Achæan soldiers in their quarrel; and, on a sudden, fell upon the Lacedæmonians with such fury, that seventeen of them were killed upon the spot; seventy-three were, with the greatest difficulty, rescued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. Philopœmen did not intend to pardon them; but was unwilling it should be said, that they had been condemned without a trial. They were, therefore, next morning produced before the multitude, who, scarce suffering them to answer for themselves, condemned and executed them all without exception. This severe execution struck the Lacedæmonians with such terror, that they surrendered at discretion; and Philopœmen, whose point was to humble the Lacedæmonians, treated them as if their city had been taken by storm; he commanded them to demolish their walls, disband all their mercenaries, drive

Lacedæmon reduced by the Achæans.

cut

out all the slaves, whom the tyrants had set at liberty, receive the exiles, and, lastly, renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and, for the future, govern themselves only by those of Achaia^a.

Conditions proposed by Philopœmen.

The Lacedæmonians readily demolished their walls; for Lacedæmon had long subsisted without any other defence than the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were most averse to; but Philopœmen and the Achæans were inexorable, and would, by all means, have the exiles reinstated in their ancient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants. But the most fatal blow was the abolition of the laws of the wise Lycurgus, which, severe as they were, the Lacedæmonians had observed for the space of seven hundred years^b. Such was the fate of one of the most illustrious cities of Greece (D).

The Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to Rome; to complain of this cruel treatment; and Lepidus, who was then consul, wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, acquainting them, that the senate did not approve of such inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the Achæans immediately dispatched Nicodemus of Elis to Rome, to justify their conduct. Upon his return, he acquainted his republic, that Rome was not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death so many of the inhabitants; but, at the same time, did not annul the decrees which the assembly had enacted. Rome had then affairs of greater importance on her hands; and therefore deferred the discussion of this point to a more proper season^c.

The Lacedæmonians carry their complaints to Rome.

The Achæan league was, at this time, in great repute all over the East, and the friendship of so powerful a state

The friendship of the Achæans courted by the princes of Asia.

^a Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 30—34. Legat. cap. 41. p. 850, 852.

^b Liv. ibid. ^c Polyb. in

(D) This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta, reflects no great honour on Philopœmen: Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest commanders of Greece, seems, in some measure, to palliate this action, since he could not justify it. His insisting upon the re-establishment of the exiles was not blameable; for

most of them had been banished by Machanidas, Lycurgus, and Nabis, for attempting to place on the throne Agesipolis, to whom the kingdom of Sparta of right belonged: but all the other steps Philopœmen took, on this occasion, betrayed a revengeful temper, which could not be satisfied but by the utter destruction of his enemies.

courted by all the princes of Asia. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, sent ambassadors to renew his ancient alliance with the Achæans, and to offer the republic six thousand shields, and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted; and Lycortas, with two others, deputed to thank him for the present, and renew the alliance. King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, offering an hundred and twenty talents, the interest of which should be settled on the members of the public council. Ambassadors came likewise from Seleucus, king of Syria, offering the republic, in the name of their sovereign, ten ships of war completely equipped, and desiring to have the ancient treaty of alliance confirmed by the assembly. All these ambassadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with Ptolemy and Seleucus was renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships which the latter offered. As for Eumenes, Apollonius of Sicyon exhorted, in a long speech, the Achæans, not only to reject the present that was offered by his ambassadors, but to look upon him as an enemy, since he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable assembly; an attempt which he would not have made, if he had not something in view prejudicial to their true interest. His speech was heard with great applause, and the renewal of the alliance postponed till a farther opportunity².

The Romans jealous of their power. Send commissioners into Achaia.

The Romans, having now got the better of all their enemies in the East, resumed the cause of the Lacedæmonians, with a design to humble the Achæans, whose great power began to raise no small jealousy at Rome. Three commissioners were therefore named; of which Q. Cæcilius was the chief, to go first into Macedonia, and from thence into Achaia, to examine matters on the spot. These, having settled the affairs of Macedon, pursuant to their commission, hastened to Peloponnesus. Aristenes, who was then prætor, hearing of their arrival, assembled the chiefs of the republic at Argos, and invited Cæcilius, with his colleagues, thither. Cæcilius, being introduced to the council, began his speech by commending the zeal of the Achæans for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wisdom of their governors. He then added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to atone for their imprudent conduct, on that occasion. Aristenes,

² Polyb. in Legat. cap. 41. p. 850, 851.

who

who acted secretly in concert with Cæcilius, did not make any reply. Diophanes of Megalopolis, who was a professed enemy to Philopœmen, made other complaints against him; but took no notice of his proceedings at Lacedæmon. Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, spoke in their turns; and their speeches, in defence of the late proceedings at Sparta, made such an impression on the council, that, when Cæcilius withdrew, they came to a resolution, that nothing should be altered in the decrees that had been enacted; and that this answer should be given to the Roman commissioners. When Cæcilius heard it, he desired, that the general assembly might be convened. But they replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, whereby the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cæcilius had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble. This refusal exasperated the Roman to such a degree, that he left Achaia, without making any farther inquiries *.

On his return to Rome, he acquainted the senate with what he had transacted in Peloponnesus: whereupon Apollonidas, whom the Achæans had sent to plead their cause before the senate, was introduced. He endeavoured to justify the conduct of Philopœmen and his countrymen with respect to the Lacedæmonians; and told them for what reason they had refused to call, at the instance of Cæcilius, a general assembly. After the Achæan ambassador, those from Sparta were admitted. Philopœmen, as we have observed above, had restored the Spartan exiles; and these very exiles were the men, who, since their return, had most zealously contended for the recovery of the ancient splendor and liberty of their native country. Two of these, Areus and Alcibiades, were, on this occasion, appointed by the Lacedæmonians to implore the justice of the Roman senate. They represented with great eloquence, and in a very moving manner, the miserable condition to which Sparta, once mistress of Greece, was reduced; how its walls were demolished, and the citizens dragged into Achaia, and there sold for slaves; and how the sacred laws of Lycurgus, to which Sparta owed her grandeur and glory, were intirely abolished.

The senate, after having considered the reasons on both sides, ordered Appius Claudius, and two others, who were soon to set out for Macedon, to put an end to this dispute; and referred the contending parties to the judgement

The Achæans and Lacedæmonians send deputies to Rome.

Appius Claudius appointed by the senate to settle matters in Achaia.

* Polyb. *ibid.* p. 853, 854.

which those deputies should give on the spot in the assembly of the Achæans. In the mean time, they required the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should desire it; since the Roman senate admitted them as often as they required an audience ^b.

Some time before the arrival of the Roman commissioners in Peloponnesus, Lycortas, at that time prætor, summoned the general assembly to examine the affair of the Lacedæmonians, that he might be ready to answer the questions which the commissioners should ask him, and, at the same time, know how his own countrymen stood affected. He represented to them what they had reason to apprehend from the Romans, who seemed to favour the interest of Lacedæmon more than that of Achæia: he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return into their own country to the Achæans, had yet been so base as to speak in the senate against them, as if they had driven them from their country. He ended his speech with these words: "But, after all, they are our subjects; and it is rebellion in them to bring a process against their masters: what punishment then have they not deserved?" At these words, loud cries were heard from all parts of the assembly, desiring the prætor to put the affair to the vote; and, nothing being listened to but passion, a decree passed, condemning Areus, Alcibiades, and all who attended them in their embassy, to be put to death. But, in the mean time, the Roman commissioners arrived, and the scene was changed. The assembly of the Achæans was then sitting at Clitor, a little city of Arcadia. As soon as Appius appeared in that convention, he took the highest place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. The harangue, with which he began, discovered his intentions; and made the Achæans fear the worst. He told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of all the steps that had been taken on that occasion: he inveighed against the perfidiousness and cruelty of those who had massacred the envoys from Lacedæmon, a city venerable for its antiquity; and exclaimed against the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had been so much admired by all the nations of the world. Lycortas, the prætor, who was a friend to Philopocmen, on whom

The Romans espouse the cause of the Lacedæmonians.

^b Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 42. Liv. *lib.* xxxix. cap. 33.

the accusation fell, undertook to defend the common cause of the republic, and the conduct of a great man, whom he loved. His speech, for which we refer our readers to Livy^c, was very apposite, and well becoming the head of a nation. But Appius, without descending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments Lycortas had produced to justify their conduct, desired them to restore to Lacedæmon her ancient rights and privileges voluntarily, lest Rome should force them to do justice. These words drew sighs from the whole assembly; but fear had got the better of their resentment. They desired the commissioners to do what they thought proper; but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling the decree which they had sworn to observe. This submission appeased the anger of Appius, who contented himself, at present, with repealing the sentence that was just before pronounced against Areus and Alcibiades. With this act of power and authority he put an end to the sessions, and, leaving Greece, returned to Italy^d.

The commissioners having made their report in the senate, it was decreed, that those persons, who had been condemned by the Achæans, should be recalled and restored; that all sentences, pronounced in the assembly of Achaia against Lacedæmon, should be repealed; and, lastly, that, for the future, the Lacedæmonians should be deemed members of the Achæan body, and treated accordingly. Q. Marcus was appointed to go into Greece, and see this sentence executed; and he obliged both parties to accept and sign the decree.

But this storm was scarce appeased, when another arose. The city of Messene had been a member of the Achæan body ever since the war of the confederates. But one Dinocrates, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, detached it from the league, and was arming the Messenians, his countrymen, in order to defend the city against Philopœmen, then prætor the eighth time. The brave Achæan no sooner heard of the revolt, than he made haste to seize the city of Corone (D), before the rebel had made himself master of it; but, as he was sick, and actually confined to his bed with a fever, when intelligence was brought him of the disturbances at Messene, Dino-

The decree of the Achæans annulled at Rome.

The city of Messene withdraws itself from the Achæan league.

^c Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 35—37.

^d Liv. ibid.

(D) Coron, or Corone, Belvedere, and known by the name of a city of Messenia, and same name. Still remains, in the province of

*Philopœ-
men
marches
against the
rebels ;*

*but is de-
feated.*

*Philopœ-
men taken
prisoner.*

crates got to Corone before him. Then the Achæan general, assembling the Megalopolitan youth, who had offered to follow him as volunteers, and making a forced march, advanced towards Messene, with a design to fall upon the revolters, while Dinocrates was busy at Corone; but, on his march, he met with Dinocrates, attacked him, and put him to flight at the first onset. Philopœmen, on this occasion, forgot his sickness, and the fatigues of the day before; for he had marched from Argos to Megalopolis, above sixty miles, in twelve hours. While the Megalopolitans were pursuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men, whom Dinocrates had taken the precaution to leave in the open country about Messene, to defend it, joined him. The Messenians, being encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about, and renewed the action. The Megalopolitans, though led on by Philopœmen and Lycortas, were too weak to make head against such a body of fresh men. Philopœmen, therefore, determined to retire in good order; which branch of the military art he understood better than any general of his age. To this end he marched into rough and narrow ways, whither the enemy could not, without danger, follow him. He placed Lycortas, and the Megalopolitans, in the van, and he himself brought up the rear, facing about from time to time, and keeping the enemy at some distance. As his troops retreated with too great precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile, and surrounded by the enemy. However, they durst not even then attack him; but keeping at a distance, drove him, with showers of arrows, into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horse: yet still he supported himself, though quite worn out with sickness, the fatigues of his march, and old age, being then in his seventieth year. He spurred on his horse cross the rocks, and was very near rejoining the main body of his small army, when his horse stumbled, and threw him. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head, and lay senseless, till the enemies, thinking him dead, began to strip him of his armour. He then opened his eyes, and seemed to revive, when Dinocrates, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back; and, in that condition, carried him to Messene.

When the Messenians received the news of this victory, and heard that Philopœmen was taken prisoner, they all ran to the gates of the city, to see what they could no otherwise believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when

when the news was confirmed by the relation of those very Messenians who had taken him : but upon the sight of the hero of Greece, reduced to captivity more by an accident than any want of valour, most of the spectators were so much touched with compassion, that they could not refrain from tears : they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought ; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been, by his means, delivered from the oppressions of the tyrant Nabis. The crowd was so great, that many had not been able to see him ; they therefore desired he might be carried into the theatre, and there shewn to the multitude ; but the magistrates, fearing lest the esteem and love which the Messenians had formerly shewn him should revive, did not suffer the illustrious prisoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a sudden to a vault called the Treasury ; a subterraneous place, where neither light nor air entered from without, stopped by a large stone, which was raised up, and let down by a crane. In this cavern, Philopoemen, wounded, sick, and fatigued, spent a miserable night.

Early in the morning, the senate and people met. The latter were for obtaining favourable terms in exchange for their prisoner, and sending him back to his own country ; but the senators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and consequently were afraid they should find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death ; and accordingly, without delay, sent the executioner into the vault, with orders to force the prisoner to drink a dose of poison. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan saw him carrying a cup in his hand, he guessed what he brought ; and, raising himself up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, asked the executioner with great tranquillity, " Whether Lycortas, and the Megalopolitan youth, had got into a place of safety." " Not one of them is killed," answered the executioner ; " they have all made their escape." " That is enough," replied Philopoemen, " I die content." He then took the cup of poison with great cheerfulness, and drank the fatal potion. Thus died one of the greatest heroes that Greece, or any other country, ever produced. He was no way inferior in valour, military knowledge, and virtue, to any of the boasted heroes of Rome. Had Achaia been nearer to an equality with Rome, he would have preserved his country from the yoke, which the Roman republic forced it to

Philopoemen put to death. His character.

Yr. of Fl.
2165.
Ante Chr.
183.

bear. Both the Greek and Roman writers put him upon the level with Hannibal and Scipio, who were his contemporaries, and happened to die the same year. They allow him to have been not only one of the greatest commanders, but also one of the greatest statesmen of his age. To his valour and prudence Achaia owed her glory, which, upon his death, began to decline, there being none after him, in that republic, able to oppose her enemies with the like steadiness and prudence; whence Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was afterwards styled the last of the Romans*.

*Lycortas
created
prætor in
his room.*

When the tidings of his death were spread among the cities of the Achæan league, the rage of the people against his assassins was as great as their grief for the loss of so great a man. The general assembly was immediately convened at Megalopolis; and Lycortas, at that time the most famous general in Achaia, elected in the room of the deceased. The new general, without loss of time, entered the Messenian territory, at the head of an army which was soon raised, all the young men that were fit to bear arms, expressing great eagerness to revenge the death of a man to whom their country owed all its splendor. Lycortas had been his particular friend; and therefore was determined, at all events, to bring the authors of his death to condign punishment. Thus, both the general and soldiery breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the walls of Messene, after having laid waste the whole territory, and summoned the rebellious city to surrender. The people, in opposition to the prætor and senate, opened the gates to the Achæan troops, and put them in possession both of the city and castle. This submissive behaviour assuaged the wrath of Lycortas, who did not think it adviseable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt seemed to deserve. He only insisted upon their delivering up the ringleaders of the rebellion, and such as were concerned in the death of Philopœmen. They readily complied with his request; and the assassins, loaded with irons, were brought before him: but Dinocrates, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himself. The rest were afterwards carried to Megalopolis, in order to be sacrificed at the tomb of the deceased hero†.

*The ring-
leaders of
the rebel-
lion deli-
vered up.*

* Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 48. Plutar. in Philopœm. p. 366, 368.
Polyb. in Legat. cap. 52, 53. † Liv. Plut. Polyb. ubi supra.

And now nothing remained, but to pay the funeral honours to the body of Philopœmen, which had been left unburied in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken from thence with great pomp; and being burnt, according to custom, on a funeral pile, his ashes were deposited in an urn, adorned with festoons and fillets. Lycortas marched out of the city in a kind of funeral triumph. The infantry first appeared, crowned with laurel, to shew their victory, but shedding floods of tears for their deceased general. Next came the urn, carried by Polybius, the historian, son of Lycortas, surrounded by the prime nobility of Achaia, and the Messenian prisoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the cavalry in their richest apparel and caparisons. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the solemn procession; but it was visible in every one's countenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real grief on this mournful occasion. In this manner they advanced towards Megalopolis, Philopœmen's native city; and, arriving there, paid him the last honours with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The Messenian captives were stoned at his tomb; and each city of Achaia gave some signal proof of the esteem they had for him, and of the real grief they felt for the loss of so great a hero. Statues were erected to his memory in most cities of Greece, with proper inscriptions. The magistrates of Megalopolis passed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly sacrificed at his tomb; during which sacrifice a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young children sung hymns in his praise ^a (E).

Philopœmen's ashes carried in great pomp to Megalopolis.

Honours paid to the memory of Philopœmen.

When it was known at Rome, that the Achæans had restored the city of Messene to the league, their ambassadors there were addressed in quite different terms from those which had been used before. The senate told them,

^a Idem ibid.

(E) Several years after, when Corinth was taken and destroyed by Mummius, a Roman brought articles of impeachment against Philopœmen, in order to have the statues and monuments erected all over Greece, to the memory of this great man, thrown down and abolished. He ac-

cused him of having been an enemy to the Romans, and shewn, on all occasions, his hatred to the republic. The cause was heard in council, before Mummius; and the charge confuted, with great eloquence and solidity, by Polybius,

that

The insincerity of the Romans.

that they had been careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene. This assertion plainly shews the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to truth in their transactions with other nations: for, when the Achæans demanded the succours which they were obliged to furnish them, according to the treaty, and desired, at least, that they would suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy to Messene, it was answered, that, when any city broke off from the Achæan league, the senate did not think themselves obliged to enter into those disputes, nor concern themselves with the claims and pretensions which each might have. This was giving, as it were, the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league to take up arms, and separate, as they pleased, from the alliance. But now they endeavoured to persuade the Achæans, that they had prohibited the subjects of the republic from lending any kind of assistance to the Messenian rebels, and made a merit with them of what they had not done. The Achæans, at this time, were masters of all Peloponnesus; Philip, king of Macedon, was preparing anew for war; the Ætolians were disgusted with Rome, and Antiochus ready to pass over into Greece. No wonder, then, that Rome was very cautious of giving umbrage to the league at so critical a juncture.

The Lacedæmonian exiles recur to the Romans.

We have observed above, that the Roman senate had decreed, among many other articles, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league; and that Marcius had been sent into Greece, to see this decree put in execution. However, the Achæan ambassadors, on their return from Rome, acquainted the assembly, that the Lacedæmonian exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and consequently might be driven anew from the city, without disobliging the senate. Upon their report, the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithstanding the strong opposition made by Diophanes, who undertook to defend their cause. Being thus reduced to their former state of misery, they sent ambassadors to Rome, imploring the protection of the senate. The senators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of Achaia, desiring them to give the Lacedæmonian exiles leave to settle again in their native country. These letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them, on their return, to the council of Achaia; which returned no other answer, than that the matter should be considered

dered after the arrival of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Not long after, the ambassadors returned, and declared before the council, that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themselves from their importunities ^a.

After the ambassadors had been heard, Lycortas was of opinion that no notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written; but Hyperbates, who was then prætor, and Callicrates, were of a different opinion. Lycortas, however, carried it; and it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to acquaint the Roman senate with the reasons which had moved them to adhere to their former resolutions, notwithstanding their recommendation. Callicrates, Lysicles, and Aratus, were appointed ambassadors, and instructions given them agreeable to the resolutions that had been taken. When they arrived at Rome, Callicrates acted in direct opposition to his orders; for, being introduced to the senate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his stubborn countrymen, telling them, that, if the Greeks paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themselves for it, such a neglect being entirely owing to their lenity and indolence. Thus the Greeks began to forge their own chains, and ambitious men prostituted to their private interest, that liberty which their ancestors had purchased and maintained at the expence of their lives. Callicrates was so transported with ambition, that he chose rather to betray and ruin his country, than suffer any other to have more authority in it than himself.

*Callicrates
betrays his
country.*

As he had treacherously pointed out the methods by which they might easily weaken and crush the Greek republics, it was concluded, that they should exert themselves in heaping favours upon such as maintained the authority of Rome, and humbling those who presumed to oppose it. Henceforth it was a constant maxim of the Roman policy, to increase the power and authority of such as favoured their ambitious views, in defiance of the laws and constitutions of their respective countries; and oppress, by all possible methods, those who were sincere friends to the liberty which they had received from their ancestors.

From this period, Rome began to treat the Achæans with a high hand. Peremptory orders were sent them to

^a Polyb. in Legat. cap. 54.

*The Achæans com-
manded to
restore the
Lacedæmo-
nian exiles.*

restore the Lacedæmonian exiles, and pay an implicit obedience to the decrees of the senate. Letters were at the same time directed to the Ætolians, Boeotians, Acarnanians, and other free states of Greece, enjoining them to see the orders of the senate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ, in their respective commonwealths, men only of such noble sentiments as distinguished the character of Callicrates. Thus the Romans requited the eminent services which the Achæans had done them in their wars with Philip and Antiochus, and the inviolable fidelity, with which they adhered to them, when they were despised by the other cities of Greece (F). Callicrates, on his return to Peloponnesus, spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he was elected prætor; in which employment he restored the Lacedæmonian and Messenian exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the Romans.

*Perfes,
king of
Macedon,
endeavours
to ingra-
tiate him-
self with
the states
of Greece;*

By these violent methods, Rome acquired numbers of flatterers, but lost many of her best friends; and, on the other side, Perfes, who had succeeded Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, spared no pains to gain over to his party such as were dissatisfied with the Romans. That prince, being determined to shake off the yoke which the Romans had laid on him, made it his whole business to detach the Greek cities and nations from their alliance with Rome. To this end, thinking his presence necessary among nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring king than a distant republic, he advanced towards Delphi, under pretence of discharging a vow, but, in reality, to make alliances in Greece. With this view, he crossed Mount Cæta, and surprised the Greeks with his sudden appearance among them. The terror spread into Asia, and alarmed Eumenes in Pergamus:

(F) Polybius ascribes this violent proceeding of the Romans to the compassion which the Spartan exiles raised in the breasts of the senators. The Romans, says he, are easily moved to pity by the complaints of the miserable; and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protec-

tion. And this it was that inclined them to espouse the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles (1). But we must remember that this, in other respects, impartial historian, wrote in Rome, and under the eyes of the Romans, after they were absolute lords of Greece.

(1) Polyb. Legat. cap. 58.

but Perſes, after having conſulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, paſſing through Phthiotis and Theſſaly, without committing any hoſtilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all thoſe countries, and therefore the ſon not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but ſent deputies to all the free ſtates, or circular letters, remonſtrating, that they ought not to continue the hatred they might have conceived againſt the father to the ſon, who courted their friendſhip¹.

His chief intention was to gain over the Achæan republic, which had carried its hatred ſo far againſt the Macedonians, that they were not ſuffered, upon any pretence, to enter Achaia. It was not only hatred, but policy, that had induced them to make ſuch a decree; for though Philip had greatly diſobliged them, eſpecially by putting the Aratides to death, yet he had proved, in many other reſpects, very benevolent to them; whence they were with difficulty prevailed upon to forſake him; and, even after they had entered into an alliance with the Romans, ſome of their leading men ſtill favoured their ancient ally. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, for the preſervation of concord among themſelves, to uſe great circumſpection, left, by his agents, he ſhould foment diſſentions in the ſtate. Besides, by hearkening to his meſſages, they might have given jealousy to their new allies. On theſe conſiderations, the general aſſembly of Achaia had enacted a decree, forbidding any Macedonian to enter into Achaia, on pain of being treated as an enemy to the ſtate. This decree cut off all intercourſe and means of reconciliation with the Macedonians, and thereby cruſhed at once the Macedonian faction; but, at the ſame time, it proved very prejudicial both to the Achæans and Macedonians; for the ſlaves on both ſides uſed to fly to the enemies of their maſters, where they found a ſure aſylum, knowing they ſhould not be followed or claimed after that general prohibition. However, Perſes made the firſt ſtep towards a reconciliation, by returning to the Achæans ſuch of their ſlaves as had taken ſanctuary in his dominions. With this acceptable preſent he ſent an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for preventing their ſlaves from finding, for the future, refuge in his dominions. This ſtep was courtſhip their friendſhip, and tacitly demanding the re-eſtabliſhment of

Yr. of Fl.
2170.
Ante Chr.
178.

*eſpecially
with the
Achæans.*

¹ Liv. lib. xli. cap. 12.

their

*Some of the
Achæans
declare
against
him ;*

*and others
for him.*

their ancient commerce. One Xenarchus, who was then prætor of Achaia, read the king's letter in a full assembly : it was heard with great applause, especially by those who had received their slaves ; and most of the leading men were for annulling the decree forbidding all commerce with Macedon. But Callicrates represented to them the bad consequences of repealing the decree in so critical a juncture : he told them, that the Romans designed to make war upon Perſes ; that Perſes had nothing else in view, by ſending back their ſlaves, than to involve them, and all Greece, in this war ; and that to enter into the leaſt engagement with Perſes, was to renounce their alliance with Rome, and draw all the Weſt upon them. He therefore exhorted them, as they tendered the welfare of their country, to reſuſe the dangerous preſents, to live as utter ſtrangers to Macedon, and to confirm the decree forbidding all manner of commerce with her.

Archon, Xenarchus's brother, ſpoke after Callicrates ; and endeavoured to prove, that the fear of an impending war was without foundation, ſince Perſes had renewed his alliance with the Romans, was honoured by them with the title of friend and ally, and had lately entertained their ambaffadors with great demonſtrations of kindneſs : why then might not the Achæans, as well as the Epirots, Ætolians, Theſſalians, and the other nations of Greece, reap the advantages of his neighbourhood ? Why might not the Achæans, like the other free ſtates, ceaſe to be enemies to Perſes, without ceaſing to be friends to Rome ? He concluded, that it would be time enough to declare againſt the Macedonians, when they were come to an open rupture with Rome ; but, till then, they had no reaſon to be more zealous for their friends than their friends were for themſelves ^k.

Archon's diſcourſe would have determined the aſſembly to comply with the requeſt of Perſes, had not Callicrates obſerved, that the king had not vouchſafed to treat with them otherwiſe than by a ſhort letter. This want of reſpect, as Callicrates ſtyled it, being artfully repreſented, made the aſſembly poſtpone the determination, and reſuſe, for the preſent, the king's offer. As ſoon as Perſes was acquainted with what had paſſed at the diet, he ſent ambaffadors to make the ſame offers ; but the advocates of Rome found means to render all their negotiations fruitleſs ^l.

^k Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 27.

^l Liv. ibid, cap. 28.

Some years after, a war breaking out between the Romans and Perses, great divisions arose in all the cities and free states of Greece, some favouring the Macedonians, and others adhering to the Romans. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these disturbances; but Archon wisely prevented the ill consequences that might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of Achaia to espouse the cause of the Romans. Archon was not much inclined to the Romans, but rather favoured in his heart the Macedonian faction: however, as he foresaw that Rome would at last prevail, he was no sooner chosen prætor, than he prevailed upon the diet to pass a decree, empowering him to raise what forces he pleased, and march with them to join the Romans. In the same assembly it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to Marcius, the Roman consul, who had already penetrated into Thessaly, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know when and where the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, the historian, being named for this embassy, immediately set out for the Roman camp, in order to suppress the reports that were spread, of the Achæans intending to assist the Macédonians. When he arrived, he was received by the consul with great demonstrations of kindness. The firmness of so powerful a nation, at a time when so many others were wavering in their fidelity, could not but be acceptable. He therefore thanked them in the kindest terms; and said, they might spare themselves the trouble and expence of marching their troops to join him, since, in the present posture of affairs, he did not want any foreign succours. With this answer Polybius sent back his colleagues, but remained himself in the Roman camp.

Yr. of Fl.
2179.
Ante Chr.
169.

The Achæans declare for the Romans.

Polybius sent to the Roman general with the resolution of the Achæan diet.

In the mean time the Achæans informed Polybius, that Appius, who commanded the Roman troops in Epirus, had demanded of their republic five thousand men; which body they were ready to send into Epirus, if the consul approved of their compliance. But Marcius was so far from consenting that any succours should be sent to Appius, that he immediately dispatched Polybius home, with orders not to suffer any troops to be sent to Appius, nor his republic to be put to such useless expences. It is difficult, says our historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to act in this manner. Was he for saving the Achæans the trouble and charges of so long a march? Or, did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing, since he had not been able

Marcius refuses the succours offered him.

to

to undertake any thing himself? Whatever was his motive, Polybius readily complied with the inclinations of the consul, and returned home. But when the matter was debated in the council of Achæia, difficulties were started by Polybius's friends, and those of his party; for, as he was sure to incur the displeasure of the consul, if he did not act agreeable to his charge, so, on the other hand, orders given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not seem sufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refusing succours to Appius, who really wanted them. In this case, therefore, they had recourse to a decree which had been lately published, in all the cities of Greece, by two commissioners sent for that purpose from Rome. The purport of this decree was, to forbid the Roman generals to exact any thing of the nations in confederacy with Rome, without an express order from the senate; and prohibiting the allies to submit to any exaction, or even demands, of the consuls, prætors, tribunes, &c. without such an order. The tyranny which the commanders of the Roman fleets and armies exercised over their most faithful allies, gave occasion to this decree. For want of an order from the senate, the messenger, sent by Appius, was dismissed, without the succours he demanded. Thus Polybius made his court to the consul, and, at the same time, consulted the interest of his country^m.

*Haughty
behaviour
of the Ro-
mans after
the defeat
of Perse.*

In the course of the ensuing year, Paulus Æmilius, who succeeded Marcius in the command of the army in Macedon, being informed, that Perse was drawing together a numerous army, with a design to come to a decisive battle, sent to solicit succours from the allies, especially the Achæans; who, upon the first summons, sent him what troops he wanted, under the conduct of their most experienced commanders. These distinguished themselves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of Pydna, which put an end to the Macedonian war. Perse was entirely defeated, and soon after reduced to such difficulties, that he was obliged to deliver up himself, and all his children, to the conquerors. And now the Romans, having by this victory, triumphed over their enemies in the East, began to treat their friends in a quite different manner from what they had used while they stood in need of their assistance. Ten commissioners were appointed to settle the affairs of Macedon, and inspect those of Greece;

^m Liv. *ibid.* Polyb. Legat. cap. 77.

that

that is, to prosecute and punish, without any regard to justice and equity, all those who, during the war, had betrayed any inclination to the Macedonians. These haughty judges summoned all the heads of the Greek nations to appear before their tribunal at Amphipolis, in order to compose their differences, as they gave out, and restore Greece to its ancient tranquillity. The Ætolians appeared first, in mourning habits, and making great lamentations. The subject of their complaints was, that two members of their assembly, Lyciscus and Tisippus, whom the protection of the Romans, to whose interest they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers lent them by Bæbius, who commanded in the country for the Romans, and put to death five hundred and fifty of their senators, for no other crime, but because they were thought to favour Perſes. The commissioners, after having heard their complaints, confined their inquiries to this point alone, whether those, who had been thus massacred, were for the Romans or Perſes; and, having found that they had spoken in the senate for Perſes, the council passed a decree, by which the murderers were acquitted; and those, who had been put to death, declared to have suffered justly. Bæbius alone was blamed for employing the Roman soldiers in an execution, which had no relation to military affairs^a.

This sentence spread great terror among those who had shewn any affection for Perſes, and increased, beyond measure, the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. In each city the leading men were divided into three factions; the first, and without doubt, the most numerous, adhered to the Macedonians; the second was devoted to the Romans; and the third, in opposition to the other two, were neither for the Macedonians nor the Romans. The latter, whose party was the least numerous, as it only consisted of prudent men, were afraid, that, whatever party should prevail, their liberties might be in danger; and their concern was to preserve their country both from the Macedonian and Roman tyranny. These were in great esteem, and beloved in their respective cities, and had acted prudently in all the measures they had taken; but this circumspection was not sufficient to screen them from the vengeance of the Romans. The commissioners first wreaked their anger on those who had favour-

Yr. of Pl.
3181.
Ante Chr.
167.

Greece divided into three factions.

^a Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 28, 32.

Unjust proceedings of the Romans.

ed Perſes; for the emiſſaries of Rome ſlocked to Amphipolis from all the countries of Greece, to accuſe them before the council. Theſe treacherous men informed the commiſſioners, that, beſides thoſe who had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of Perſes, there were many others, no leſs averſe to the Romans in their hearts; adding, that they would never have their authority quietly ſettled in Greece, till they had utterly deſtroyed both the favourers of Perſes, and thoſe who had affected to ſtand neuter, and not to fall in with either party. The ten commiſſioners entirely approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule of their conduct to oppoſe, in all the Greek cities, not only the Macedonian, but the neutral party, and confer honours on thoſe only, who preferred the intereſt of Rome to all other conſiderations.

Several, who had favoured Perſes, ſummoned to Rome.

Commiſſioners ſent into Achaia.

The moſt ſanguine of theſe informers were Callicrates and Andronidas, both Achæans, and greatly attached to the Roman party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their republic, or were willing to maintain themſelves in them, with the aſſiſtance of the Romans. With this view, they informed againſt all thoſe among their countrymen, who were in a condition to diſpute the high-eſt poſts with them; and their accuſations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and partiſans of Perſes before his overthrow. Beſides the Achæans, Callicrates accuſed a great many others, and delivered a long liſt of ſuch as had either declared for the Macedonians, or ſtood up for the defence of their own rights and privileges in Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia. All theſe were ordered by Paulus Æmilius to follow him to Rome, and there give an account of their conduct. But as to the Achæans, the commiſſioners thought it adviſeable to judge them in their own country, and to ſend two of the chief members of the council into Achaia, to try them there: accordingly C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Æno-barbus were named, and ſet out for Achaia.

One of the two commiſſioners ſent into Achaia, Paſanias does not ſay which, a man of a vile character, complained in the aſſembly of the Achæans, that many of the chief men of the league had aſſiſted Perſes againſt the Romans; and therefore deſired, that all thoſe might be condemned to die, whom he ſhould name, after ſentence given. "After ſentence given!" cried out the whole aſſembly: "What juſtice is that? Name them firſt, and let them anſwer for themſelves; which if they cannot do, we engage to condemn them." "Since you promiſe to condemn

condemn them," replied the haughty Roman, with an assuming air, "all your prætors, all who have borne any office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime." At these words Xenon, a person of great credit, and highly respected by the whole league, spoke to this effect: "I have commanded the army, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league: I protest I have never done any thing contrary to the interest of Rome; and, if any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now styled, let him appear. I am ready to clear myself, either in the assembly of the Achæans, or before the Roman senate." The Roman took hold of this expression; and said, "That, since Xenon had named the senate, he, and the rest, could not appeal to a more impartial judge." Then he began to name all those who had been accused by Callicrates, as more in the Macedonian than the Roman interest, ordering them to appear and plead their cause before the senate. They were above a thousand, all men of distinguished merit, who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of their country; and this was the only crime that could be laid to their charge. This sentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of Achaia; that unhappy republic was deprived at once of all those who had shewn any zeal for the preservation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there, even under Philip, and his son Alexander; for neither of these princes ever thought of causing those who opposed them to be sent into Macedon; but referred their trials to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges.

A thousand Achæans commanded to appear before the Roman senate.

Upon the arrival of these unhappy men at Rome, they were banished into different towns of Italy, and kept close prisoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the assembly of the Achæans. When these tyrannical proceedings were known in Achaia, the assembly sent embassy after embassy, to acquaint the senate, that their banished countrymen had not been tried at home, but referred for their trial to the Roman senate: they begged, that they would give them a hearing, condemn such as they should find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable; she obstinately insisted upon their having been found guilty in Achaia, and sent to Rome only to hear what punishment she was pleased to inflict upon them. Hereupon the Achæans sent a solemn embassy to the senate, to protest, that the pretended guilty persons had never been tried, or even

How used at Rome.

Several embassies sent by the Achæans to Rome.

heard by their assembly. Euratus, who was at the head of this embassy, being introduced to the senate, declared the orders he had received, earnestly intreating the senate, in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the persons accused, and not suffer them to perish without being condemned. "It were to be wished," said he, "that the Roman senate, that august and venerable assembly, which has never been known to swerve, in its decisions, from the strictest rules of equity, would take the cause of these unhappy men into their own hands; but, if affairs of greater importance do not allow them leisure to examine the matter themselves, let them refer it to the assembly of the Achæans, who are ready to punish with the utmost rigour such as they shall find guilty of any crime that may be laid to their charge. As this demand was very equitable, the senate was greatly puzzled what to answer. They did not think it advisable to try the cause, as knowing that the accusation was groundless: on the other hand, to dismiss the exiles, and suffer them to return to their own country, was to disoblige their partisans in Greece, who placed all the hopes of their preferment in the ruin of those who had a better title to favour than themselves.

The answer of the senate.

After several consultations, the senate declared, that they did not think it expedient for the welfare of Achaia, that these men should return home. This cruel and iniquitous conduct caused an universal consternation in Achaia: all the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits, and lamented the loss of their countrymen as if they had been their dearest relations. Callicrates and Andronidas became more than ever the objects of the public hatred: they were never mentioned in the assemblies, but with horror and detestation: even the children reviled them in the public streets, calling them traitors, and enemies to their country. Nay, the Achæans carried their rage so far, that, when the two informers had gone into a public bath at Sicyon, nobody would wash with them, or even after them, till the water was let out, and the place purified. This general uneasiness made Achaia still suspected by the Roman senate, who kept the prisoners more closely confined than ever. These were the first seeds of a war which we shall soon see break out between Rome and Achaia; the first sparks of that fire which consumed Corinth.

° Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 417. Polyb. Legat. 105.

The Achæans, however, did not desist from soliciting the senate for the release of the exiles. They sent new deputies, to beg their return as a favour, lest, in taking upon them their defence, they should seem to oppose the will of the senate. The deputies appeared at Rome in the attire of suppliants, and took care not to say any thing in the harangue they made before the senate that could give offence. Their speech was modest, and extremely reserved: but the conscript fathers continued inexorable, declaring, that they would not, upon any account whatsoever, alter the measures they had taken. The Achæans, on the other hand, would not give over importuning the senate in behalf of their countrymen. They sent several embassies, at different times, and made what interest they could among their friends at Rome, and elsewhere, to get their petition supported by persons who were better received than themselves. But all was to no effect; they could not be prevailed upon even to suffer Polybius, who was one of the exiles, and kept under close confinement at Rome, to appear before the senate, and plead the common cause.

New deputies sent to Rome;

but to no purpose.

Seventeen years were already past, and the far greater part of the unfortunate exiles dead in their confinement, when the senate at last was prevailed upon to suffer those few who were still alive, to return home. Polybius, as we have hinted above, was one of these unhappy Achæans; but had been kept at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, and procured him that distinction. During his confinement in that city, his merit, wisdom, and learning, gained the love and esteem of the greatest men in the senate. He was particularly esteemed by the two sons of Paulus Æmilius; the eldest of these had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter, who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantia, at the request of his friend, solicited Cato the censor to speak in the senate in favour of the Achæans, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight with the members of that assembly. Cato promised to back the petition of the deputies that were come from Achaia, to intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to audience, warm debates arose, as usual, among the senators, some being for sending them home, and the others opposing it; when Cato rose up, and with great gravity said, "That to see the Roman senate dispute with great warmth, whether some poor old Greeks should be buried in Italy, or in their own

Polybius in great esteem at Rome.

The Achæans, after seventeen years confinement, are sent home.

country, would make one think that they had nothing to do." This pleasantry coming from so grave a man as Cato, made the senators ashamed of so long a contest, and determined them, at last, to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was for supplicating the senate, that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to hear Cato's opinion, who told him, smiling: "Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some poor tatters you have left there." Accordingly the exiles returned to their own country, but their number was much diminished; for of the thousand, and upwards, that came from Achaia, no more than three hundred returned; the rest had perished in Italy with hunger and grief, and some had suffered like criminals for attempting to make their escape^p. Such inhuman proceedings ought to be considered as the most wanton and oppressive tyranny. The republic of Achaia was not subject to, but upon a level with that of Rome. The brave Achæans, who were thus barbarously treated, had most of them served under the Roman standards, and greatly contributed to that victory which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and overbearing.

Polybius remains at Rome.

Polybius made no use of this permission, but remained in Rome, where that virtue which had brought him into distress, proved not only the means of his relief, but of his exaltation to greater dignities than those he lost. He attended Scipio *Æmilianus* in all his military expeditions, and signalized himself no less in the service of Rome than he had formerly done in that of Achaia.

The minds of the Achæans estranged from the Romans.

The exiles, on their return, found Achaia rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people entirely estranged from the Romans. They only wanted an opportunity to make Rome repent of the rigorous treatment she had shewn to the Achæan prisoners. This aversion was artfully fomented by their chief magistrates, and the leading men in the republic, who were for the most part professed enemies to the Romans. Such an universal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds of moderation; it soon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire reduction of Achaia, and the dissolution of the Achæan league.

^p *Paul. in Achæic. Plur. in Cato Censor, Polyb. in Legat. 129, 130.*

To trace this war back to its first origin: a certain dispute arising between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Oropus (H), the latter had recourse to the Achæans. Menalcidas, by birth a Lacedæmonian, was then prætor of Achaia: to him the Oropians applied, agreeing to give him ten talents, if he prevailed on the diet in which he presided to espouse their cause, and assist them with troops. The Lacedæmonian, who preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the proposal; and, in order to gain his point, promised to divide the money with Callicrates, if he could, by his interest, extort from the general assembly their consent to send troops to the defence of Oropus. Callicrates, allured with this bait, prevailed on the assembly to take the city of Oropus under their protection; and accordingly Menalcidas was immediately dispatched, with a strong body of chosen troops, to make head against the Athenians, who had already taken the field. But Menalcidas came too late; the Athenians had already plundered Oropus, and retired, with an immense booty: however, the avaritious prætor demanded the ten talents, as if his assistance had been effectual; but could not prevail on himself to divide them with Callicrates: he first amused him with fair promises, and at last told him, that he would keep the whole sum to himself. Callicrates, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accused him, when he was out of his office, of having used his utmost endeavours with the Roman senate to withdraw his country from the Achæan league. The process was carried on with such rigour, that Menalcidas would have been sentenced to death, if he had not, by a present of three talents, prevailed upon Dæus, who succeeded him in the prætorship, to acquit him, notwithstanding all the evidences that were produced against him. This acquittal drew on Dæus the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewise was inclined to the Lacedæmonians. It was a great stain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off, by this bold step: he maintained in the general assembly, that the Lacedæmonians were subject to the Achæan league, even in cri-

What gave rise to the war with the Romans.

(H) The ancient geographers mention three cities bearing this name; one, called by Aristotle, Græca, stood in the island of Eubœa; another, the native city of Seleucus Nicator, belonged to Macedon;

the third, which is the city we are now speaking of, stood in Boeotia, near the borders of Attica, forty-four miles north of Athens. It is now a village, called by the natives Ropo.

New troubles in Peloponnesus.

New quarrels between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans.

minal cases. Rome had decreed the contrary; but this declaration screened him from the hatred he had incurred, by favouring Menalcidas the Lacedæmonian. When advice was received at Lacedæmon, that Diæus was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general assembly, the whole city was in an uproar; for the Roman senate had, in express terms, allowed them to judge their criminals in their own private assemblies: they were for sending deputies to Rome; but Diæus pretended, that only the general assembly of the whole nation had a right of sending ambassadors thither¹.

These arbitrary proceedings greatly exasperated the Lacedæmonians; but, as they were not in a condition to make head against the whole strength of Achaia, they humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to Diæus, who was advancing at the head of a considerable army, entreating him not to use force till other means of a reconciliation should prove fruitless. The prætor answered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the Lacedæmonians in general, but only with a few disturbers of the public peace, whom he named, to the number of twenty-four. Upon the return of the deputies the council of Lacedæmon assembled, when Agesisthenes, a man of great authority, moved, that those who had been named by Diæus should, of their own accord, abandon their country, as if they had been banished, and carry their complaints to Rome. The motion was applauded by the whole assembly; and the persons that had been named withdrew, without delay, from their native country. When the council of Lacedæmon heard that they had retired from Laconia, sentence of death was pronounced against them in a full assembly, which assuaged the anger of Diæus, and his Achæans. But when they heard that the exiles, together with Menalcidas, were embarked for Italy, to lay their complaints before the senate, Diæus and Callicrates hastened after them, to plead the cause of the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians: but they did not both reach Rome; Callicrates, who had great interest in that city, died at Rhodes, whither his affairs had called him. Diæus, therefore, and Menalcidas, only appeared before the senate; and, by their Greek eloquence, disguised the truth, with such artifice, that the senators could not come to any determination. Commissioners were therefore appointed to determine the dispute on the

¹ Pausan. in Achaic.

spot; but as they were too dilatory in setting out, Menalcidas and Dixeus arriving in Peloponnesus long before them, put all the country in a flame, which they, on their arrival, could not extinguish. Dixeus assured the Achæan assembly, that every thing would be determined by the commissioners in their favour. On the other hand, Menalcidas brought the Lacedæmonians intelligence, that, in a short time, their city and territory would be separated from the Achæan league, and declared an independent state. The Achæans hearing this assertion, resolved to take up arms, and force the Lacedæmonians to change their language^r.

Metellus, who was then employed in settling the affairs of Macedon, being informed of the troubles in Peloponnesus, desired the ambassadors, which Rome was sending into Asia, to take Corinth and Lacedæmon in their way, in order to persuade the Achæans to suspend all hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners, who had been nominated to compose their differences in an amicable manner. These ambassadors arriving in Achaia, found Democritus, who had succeeded Dixeus in the office of prætor, in full march, with a design to attack the Lacedæmonians. They exhorted him to disband his men, and return home; but, the prætor, despising their advice, advanced to the walls of Lacedæmon, and there gained a considerable advantage over the Lacedæmonians, who, having lost a thousand of their men, retired with such precipitation into the city, that if Democritus had pursued them closely, he might have entered Lacedæmon with the fugitives. But he founded a retreat, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained; an instance of moderation which so displeased the general assembly, that they fined him in fifty talents; a sum which he not being able to raise, was obliged to lay down his office, and save himself by flight out of the Achæan territories. Then Dixeus, who had been the author of all the troubles, and a declared enemy to Lacedæmon, was again elected prætor. Metellus no sooner heard of his promotion, than he sent a deputation, entreating him to forbear hostilities, till the arrival of the commissioners. Dixeus complied with his request; but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the Achæans, by secret negotiations, all the cities that bordered upon Laconia, and, having for-

Commissioners from Rome endeavour to compose them.

The Achæans make war on the Lacedæmonians.

^r Pausan. ubi supra, p. 421—428. Polyb. Legat. 143, 144. Idem in Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. Justin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 1. Flor. lib. ii. p. 16.

tified them, kept that country and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this distress, the Lacedæmonians, thinking no man so proper to extricate them from these difficulties as Menalcidas, who had governed the whole Achæan republic, appointed him commander in chief of their troops. Menalcidas was a man of great valour, but betrayed want of prudence in the first step he took: for, to give some reputation to his arms, he surprised the city Ialos, which was within the borders of Laconia, but subject to the Achæans, plundered it, and divided the booty among his soldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by the Achæans at the instance of Metellus, and drawing upon himself the resentment of the Romans. The Lacedæmonians were well apprised, that such unwarrantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cause, and therefore would have punished their general with the utmost severity, had he not prevented them by laying violent hands on himself.

Commissioners sent from Rome into Achaia.

Not long after the death of Menalcidas, the Roman commissioners arrived in Peloponnesus. As they were sent to end a civil war, which was kindled in the heart of Achaia, they landed at Corinth, which was looked upon as the capital of the Achæan league. There they summoned the assembly, which Aurelius Orestes, who was at the head of the commissioners, opened with a speech, calculated rather to create than compose divisions. Polybius is of opinion, that he exceeded the instructions he had brought from Rome, and changed the menaces of the senate into absolute orders; for he told them, that Rome had been long endeavouring to establish a happy union among the free cities of Greece, but was at last convinced, that such an union could never be effected, so long as their present form of government subsisted. "Flaminius (said he), let your cities at liberty, a blessing which they might have enjoyed separately; but you chose to form a league among yourselves, a league which should depend on a general assembly, and be governed by a prætor, chosen by a plurality of voices. In this you endeavoured to secure your common safety; but your precaution has only produced troubles and divisions. Your deputies do not agree among themselves; your assemblies make laws, which every particular city will not observe. This disunion obliges you to have recourse to arms; and hence these eternal divisions, hence these hostilities, which

Aurelius Orestes' speech to the Achæan assembly.

* Pausan. Polyb. &c. *ibid.*

* Polyb. Legat. 143.

make it necessary for you to be always under arms, and to look upon your confederates as enemies. Rome is concerned to see so many intestine wars kindled among you; knows the cause of these evils, and is resolved to put a stop to them. When you are less united, you will be more happy, and will never be completely so till you make the necessary separations. Attend, then, to the orders of the senate, which I am going to declare, and put them in execution with readiness. It is the will and pleasure of the Roman senate and people, that all the cities, which were not formerly of the Achæan league, that is, Corinth, Lacedæmon, Argos, Heraclea (I), and Orchomenos (K), be separated from the general alliance, and governed by their own laws, independently of the confederacy."

No sooner had Aurelius pronounced these words, than the Achæan deputies, without giving him time to end his speech, left the assembly, and, calling together the people of Corinth in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commissioners had brought from Rome. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude being enraged to the highest degree, fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they could find in the city, and either stript them or put them to death. Even those who fled to the house of the commissioners for refuge, were dragged from thence, and treated like the rest. Aurelius and his colleagues in vain exclaimed, that their republic would revenge the injuries done to the Lacedæmonians. The incensed multitude was deaf to their remonstrances, and would have treated the commissioners in the same manner, had they not saved themselves by flight."

Yr. of Fl.
2201.
Ante Chr.
147.

The commissioners and Lacedæmonians insulted.

The commissioners, on their return to Rome, not only set the insults they had received at Corinth in the strongest light, but are said to have exaggerated them; they represented the tumult not as a sudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at their presumption, but thought it advisable to use mo-

" Polyb. Legat. 143.

" Idem ibid.

(I) This city of Heraclea stood in Phthiotis, a province of Thessaly, near the pass of Thermopylae. It was called Heraclea Trachinea, to distinguish it from several other cities bearing the same name.

(K) Orchomenos was one of the largest cities of Boeotia, and famous for a temple dedicated to the three Graces, which was one of the most ancient and wealthy of Greece.

deration;

New commissioners sent into Achaia.

deration : Carthage was not yet taken, nor the two pretended sons of Perſes entirely ſubdued ; they thought it, therefore, neceſſary to be very cautious in treating with ſo powerful a republic as that of Achaia, at ſo critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for ſending three new commissioners into Achaia, inſtructing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counſel, leſt, by their imprudence, they ſhould draw upon themſelves a war, which it was in their power to avoid. The commissioners embarked without delay, and, after their arrival in Peloponneſus, met a deputy ſent by the Achæans, to acquaint the ſenate with their proceedings againſt Oreſtes ; but the commissioners carried him back with them to Ægium, where the diet of the nation had been ſummoned to aſſemble. Sextus Julius, a man of great prudence and moderation, was at the head of this new deputation. When he was introduced to the aſſembly, he ſpoke with that air of mildneſs which was natural to him, ſeaſoning his reproaches with the moſt tender expreſſions : “ We can excuſe (ſaid he), the firſt commotions of a multitude, led aſtray by a miſtaken zeal for their country ; we are ſenſible that the magiſtrates cannot govern them on ſuch occaſions. If our ambaffadors have ſuffered any ill treatment in thoſe blind tranſports, the fault may be eaſily repaired. The Romans will be appeaſed with the leaſt ſigns of repentance. All the ſatisfaction Rome requires of you is, that you leave Lacedæmon in peace, and reſtore tranquillity to Peloponneſus *.”

Critolaus and Dixus ſtir up the people againſt the Romans.

Theſe moderate remonſtrances, in which Julius deſignedly omitted ſaying one word of ſeparating any cities from the Achæan league, was received with great applauſe by the major part of the aſſembly. But Critolaus and Dixus endeavoured to efface the impreſſions which they made on the minds of the aſſembly, by inſinuating, that it was dangerous to truſt the ſeeming moderation of the Romans ; that Rome only ſuſpended her revenge till Carthage was deſtroyed ; that they would ſoon ſee her legions laying waſte Peloponneſus, as they had ravaged Africa ; and conſequently that it was neceſſary to prevent ſuch hoſtilities, by raiſing up enemies againſt the Romans, and utterly deſtroying their friends. Such were the diſcourſes of Critolaus and Dixus, in their private meetings among men of their own ſtamp, devoted to their faction.

* Polyb. Legat. 744.

But in public they spoke a very different language, and treated the commissioners with great civility. Critolaus, who was then prætor, invited them to Tégæa, to meet an extraordinary assembly, in which the affairs of Lacedæmon should be amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. Accordingly Julius and his colleagues went with the Lacedæmonians to the place appointed, where they waited a long time for the arrival of the deputies; but no Achæan appeared. While the Romans were thus attending in a corner of the province, Critolaus was sending expresses from city to city, forbidding them to send their deputies to the congress. Julius began to be impatient, and expresses his uneasiness, when Critolaus came alone to Tégæa, and, to the surprize of the Romans, told them, that the dispute between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians was of too great importance to be decided in a private assembly; that it was necessary to refer it to the general diet, which could not be assembled, according to law, in less than six months.

*Affront the
Roman am-
bassadors;*

Julius was highly affronted at such deceitful proceedings. He dismissed the Lacedæmonians; and, returning to Rome, complained, that the republic had been insulted, and her ambassadors personally ill used and derided. On the other hand, the prætor gloried in having mortified Rome in her envoys, and took no one step to appease her wrath. He was, from hatred to the Romans, desirous of war; but would not commit hostilities, for fear of being censured by his own nation. He therefore treated the ambassadors in the manner we have related, being apprised, that contempt would effectually exasperate that haughty people.

*who com-
plain to the
senate.*

However, Rome was not in haste to come to an open rupture: notwithstanding the loud complaints of Julius and his colleagues, the senate would not resolve on a war, but contented themselves with referring the affair to Metellus, who was settling the province of Macedon, after having conquered the two pretenders to that crown. The orders sent him were to treat with Critolaus, as a private man, in order to bring him to reason. Metellus immediately dispatched four Romans of distinguished birth, viz. Cn. Papirius, Ælius Lamia, A. Gabinus, and Q. Fannius, into Peloponnesus, enjoining them to lay before the assembly of Achaia the evils which Critolaus and his partisans were, by their rash behaviour, drawing upon them.

*Metellus
endeavours
in vain to
bring Cri-
tolaus to
reason.*

In the mean time Critolaus ran from city to city, summoning assemblies, under colour of communicating to them

*Critolaus
firs up the
multitude
against the
Romans.*

them what had passed in the conferences at Tegara; but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and put an odious construction upon all they had done. In order to increase his party, he published an edict, forbidding all judges to prosecute or imprison any Achæan for debt, till the dispute between the assembly and Lacedæmon should be at an end. By these means, he disposed the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought proper to give. Incapable of making suitable reflections on the future, they complied with the passions of a madman, who neither foresaw his own misfortunes, nor those of his nation.

*The deputies
of
Metellus
insulted
and abused.*

During these transactions, the four deputies, sent by Metellus, arrived at Corinth, where the general assembly was then sitting. This new embassy ought to have been received with respect, as it came from a victorious general, whose army was encamped in Macedon, within reach of Greece; but Critolaus treated them with great insolence. He would not suffer them to appear before the assembly; but commanded them to declare their business to the populace, assembled in the market-place. To this factious assembly, consisting of artificers, and the refuse of the people of Corinth, Cn. Papirius spoke, with at least as much moderation as Julius had used before the principal men of the nation. His discourse tended to shew, that it was the interest of Achæa to keep up a good correspondence with Rome; he took care not to mention the separation of Lacedæmon, and the other cities, from the Achæan league. This omission was interpreted by Critolaus as a proof of their fear; and, in consequence of this prejudice, a great crowd of artificers insulted the ambassadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them out of the market-place. All the cities of Achæa were at that time seized with a kind of phrenzy; but Corinth was more furious than the rest. They were persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them, and absolutely destroy the Achæan league; which persuasion made them deaf to all the remonstrances of those, who disapproved of the wild measures of Critolaus.

*Critolaus
firs up the
multitude
against
those who
disapproved
of his
measures.*

The turbulent prætor, finding all things succeed to his wish, harangued the multitude, in order to inflame them against such of the nobility as refused to enter into his views. He even named two men of unblameable character, accusing them of informing the Roman ambassadors of all that passed in the national assemblies. One of these,

y Flor. in Epit. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 16, *Patron.* ubi supra Orolius, &c.

named

named Strategius, immediately gave Critolaus the lye, and steadily insisted on his innocence. But the multitude supported the prætor, and Strategius was condemned, notwithstanding he called the gods to witness, that he had never discovered any thing transacted in the assemblies. This notorious piece of injustice convinced Critolaus that he had gained an absolute ascendant over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmost extremity, in the same assembly, he caused war to be declared with Lacedæmon, and consequently with the Romans².

War declared with the Lacedæmonians and Romans.

Upon the declaration of war the ambassadors departed; Papius repaired to Lacedæmon, to watch the enemy's motions; Ællus set out for Naupactus; and the other two for the camp in Macedon, to excite Metellus not to delay revenging the affronts offered to Rome in her ambassadors. Accordingly Metellus, without waiting for the orders of the senate, put himself at the head of the army, and began his march towards Achaia, with a design to enter it by Thessaly.

The cities of Thebes in Bœotia, and Chalcis in Eubœa, having been disoblged by Metellus, since his abode in Macedon, joined the Achæans. The inhabitants of Thebes had been condemned by Metellus to make the Phœaciæns satisfaction for the losses the latter had suffered by their frequent incursions, and also to deliver up to the inhabitants of Amphissa in Locris (L) the third part of their harvest, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of Chalcis had ravaged part of Eubœa, and Metellus had obliged them to make restitution. Upon these motives the two cities entered into the rash measures of Critolaus, and joined him with their troops. With such feeble aids the Achæan prætor believed himself able to maintain his ground against the most powerful state in the world; so far had his rage and hatred against the Romans got the better of his reason. Both Critolaus and Dixus had been of the number of those exiles whom the Romans had detained so long in Italy in a kind of slavery, and were, therefore, determined to revenge themselves, even at the expence of their country.

Thebes and Chalcis join the Achæans.

² Polyb. Legat. 144. Pausan. in Achaic.

(L) Amphissa stood on the banks of a little river, bearing the same name, and was one of the greatest cities in Locris. Some think it stood where So-

lona now stands; but Niger thinks its ancient situation agrees better with that of a little village now called Lambino.

Critolaus,

*Heraclea
besieged by
the Achæ-
ans.*

*The siege
raised, and
the Achæ-
ans defeat-
ed.*

*Dixus suc-
ceeds Crito-
laus, and
makes
great pre-
parations
for war.*

Critolaus, being joined by the troops of Thebes and Chalcis, took the field, and marched against Heraclea, a city of the Achæan league, which refused to send its contingent to the prætor. While he was employed in the siege of this town, he was informed, that Metellus was drawing near; which struck him with such terror, that he immediately broke up the siege, and withdrew into Achaia. He might easily have seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and there stopped at least, if not defeated, the Roman army; but his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had the appearance of a flight. Metellus pursued him close, and at last came up with, and routed him entirely. Historians have not told us the particulars of this battle; but we may safely conclude that it cost the Achæans dear, for their army was entirely defeated, and above a thousand of them were taken prisoners. Critolaus lost his life on this occasion; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle. Some say he poisoned himself in some remote corner of Greece; others affirm, that he threw himself down from Mount Oeta into a marsh, and was drowned^a.

It was an established law among the Achæans, that, when their prætor died during his office, his immediate predecessor should succeed him, and govern the republic till the next general assembly, which met at a stated time. By this law Dixus took upon him the government of the republic, and the command of the scattered army; but scarce was he invested with this dignity, when news came, that a body of above a thousand Arcadians, who had joined the Achæans, and, after the battle, retired to Elatea in Phocis, had been all, to a man, cut in pieces by Metellus. This was a melancholy incident; however, he sent deputies to all the cities of Achaia, enjoining them to raise new troops with all possible expedition. He published an edict in all the places that were subject to the Achæan league, importing, that no less than twelve thousand slaves, who had been born in the country, should be inlisted; and that, if it was necessary, some of the slaves, brought from foreign countries, should be taken into the service, to complete that number; that all those who were fit to bear arms, whether in Achaia or Arcadia, should repair to Corinth, and there take the military oaths; that all persons of substance, whether men or women, should bring all their gold and silver into the public treasury. This

^a Polyb. Pausan. *ibid.*

édict convinced all Achaia of the danger that threatened them; but, as they were embarked in a war with an enemy, whom they had so highly provoked, they blindly pursued the mad scheme. The cities of Elea, Messene, and Patræ, were so intimidated when they heard that a consular army was coming from Rome, and that a consul, with new legions, was to take the place of the prætor Metellus, that the inhabitants gave themselves up to despair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themselves, through fear of falling under the conqueror's power. These cities were exposed to the first attacks of the enemy after their landing, and expected the most severe treatment. Some had recourse to the clemency of Metellus, flying to his camp for refuge. There they informed against the most factious among their countrymen, though no enquiry was yet made after them^b.

In the mean time the Roman prætor entered Arcadia, and drew near Thebes, which had openly declared for the Achæan league. Pythias, the chief magistrate of that city, had inflamed the inhabitants against the Romans, and treated with great severity such as were unwilling to enter into his measures. It was chiefly with a view to seize him that Metellus turned his arms against Thebes; but Pythias had retired from his native country, with his wife and children, before the arrival of the army. Most of the citizens had followed his example, and abandoned the city, which Metellus entered without opposition. The few citizens that remained he treated with great clemency, and saved the temples and houses from being plundered; but set a price on the head of Pythias. This mixture of mildness and severity was very pleasing to the people, but struck the magistrates with terror. From Thebes the Roman general marched to Megara, which important post was guarded by Alcamenes, with a detachment of four thousand men; but the cowardly governor, at the approach of the prætorian army, left the place, and retired to Corinth, where he joined Diæus. The inhabitants of Megara opened their gates to the Romans, and put them in possession of the most fruitful territory of Achaia.

*Thebes
taken by
Metellus.*

*Megara
submits.*

Metellus, seeing most of the Achæans struck with terror, and inclined to peace, thought that such a favourable opportunity of gaining Diæus and his faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the consul

*Metellus
sends new
deputies to
treat of a
peace.*

^b Polyb. & Pausan. *ibid.*

*They are
treated as
enemies.*

Mummius was charged with the war in Achaia, and had already set out from Rome, with orders from the senate to settle affairs in Greece by the destruction of Corinth. To deprive, therefore, Mummius of this glory, and, at the same time, save that noble city, he sent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embassy he did not chuse Romans, but three Achæans, of great distinction and credit in their own country, who had taken sanctuary in the Roman camp. These were Andronidas, Logius, and Archippus, men well affected to the Romans, but strongly affected with the misfortunes which threatened their country. Upon their arrival at Corinth, they found the people in general inclined to peace; but the prætor, and his faction, more than ever bent upon a war. The ambassadors were, by his order, thrown into prison, after he had produced them before the assembly of the people, and declared them traitors and enemies to their country: neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his measures, either by the remonstrances of Philo, an Achæan of great authority, who came on purpose from Thessaly, or by the entreaties of Stratius, a man of distinguished merit, and his particular friend. In opposition to all their efforts the furious prætor sentenced the three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council, who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjust sentence; they even joined with them, in the same condemnation, one Soficrates, a venerable senator, whose only crime was, his having voted for treating of a peace with the Romans. Soficrates was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture spared, to extort from him such a confession as Dixerus desired; but he maintained to the last, that peace was preferable to war; and this inflexible constancy made no small impression on the minds of the people. As for Andronidas and his colleagues, the avaritious prætor sold them their deliverance at a great price. A few days before Dixerus had caused one Phillius and his children to be put to death, only because they were suspected of corresponding with Menalcidas at Lacedæmon, and inclining to favour the Roman faction. Thus were the unfortunate Achæans governed by magistrates who had no other rule of conduct but their passions, and no other talent for war but a savage fierceness, and a blind desire of revenge.

An account of the many advantages gained by Metellus, being transmitted to Rome by one Posthumius, without

the general's knowledge, the consul Mummius hastened his departure for Achaia, which had fallen to his lot. Why the senate would not suffer Metellus to finish a war which he had prosecuted so far with such success, is what we find no-where recorded. When the consul landed the numerous army he brought with him, Metellus was advancing to Corinth, with a design to use his utmost efforts in order to bring Diæus to accept of a peace before the arrival of the consular army; and thereby deprive Mummius of the glory of finishing the war: but the obstinate prætor would hearken to no conditions.

*Metellus
arrives in
vain to settle the af-
fairs of
Achaia.*

Yr. of Fl.
2202.
Ante Chr.
146.

*Mummius
arrives in
Greece.*

This was the posture of affairs in Achaia when Mummius appeared before Corinth with a consular army, consisting of three thousand five hundred horse, and twenty-three thousand foot, besides a body of Cretan archers, and the Pergamean troops sent by Attalus, the son of Eumenes. His first care was to send back Metellus, and his forces, into Macedon, lest he should share with him the glory of concluding the war. He then drew near the city, and encamped on the Isthmus of Corinth, posting advanced guards round the town: but as no enemy appeared, the Achæan army being shut up in the city, the Romans straggled about the fields, and neglected their posts; which relaxation of discipline the Corinthians observing, made a vigorous sally, fell attacked legionaries, and pursued them, with great slaughter, to their camp. This small advantage encouraged the Achæans, and inspired Diæus with hopes of conquering the consul, who, on his side, did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his absurd opinion: he kept his legions close in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the sight of the enemy. Diæus now becoming presumptuous, assembled all those who were able to bear arms, and formed them into a phalanx, which, with the auxiliaries from Chalcis, made up an army equal, if not superior in number to that of the Romans. They wanted experience and discipline; but Diæus thought that despair, and the importance of their cause, would supply that want: he, therefore, advanced with his troops, and offered the consul battle; which he declined, in order to draw the Achæans into a valley, called Leucopetra, at the extremity of the Isthmus which joined Attica to Peloponnesus. Accordingly the prætor fell into the snare, and marched thither long before the consul. Diæus was so sure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of Corinth to be spectators, from the neighbouring hills, of the slaughter he

was about to make of the enemy. He had also ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army, which were to be loaded with the spoils of the Romans^d.

*The Achæ-
ans defeat-
ed by Mum-
mius.*

Never was there a more rash and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of Diæus had removed from the service, and from the public councils, all those who were capable of commanding the troops, or directing affairs, and had substituted in their room others, who had no experience in civil or military concerns: the soldiers had never before seen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military discipline; nevertheless, the rash prætor promised himself victory over a consular army, inured to the greatest dangers. While the Achæans were thus triumphing in the plains of Leucopetra, and only solicitous lest the consul should find means to make his escape, he unexpectedly appeared, with his army drawn up in battalia. He had the day before placed in ambuscade a strong body of horse, with orders to sally out in the heat of the action, and attack the Achæan phalanx in flank. The Achæans advanced furiously, but their cavalry was soon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous resistance; but at length, being attacked in front by the legionaries, and by the cavalry in flank, it was broken and dispersed. The slaughter then was dreadful: we are told, that the two seas, which were divided by the isthmus of Corinth, were dyed with blood. If Diæus had retired into Corinth, he might have held it a long time, notwithstanding the loss of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummus; for Corinth was, at that time, one of the strongest places in the world, and the consul's sole aim was to deserve a triumph, by putting a speedy end to the war. But Diæus, abandoning himself to despair, rode full speed to Megalopolis, his native country, and entering his house, set fire to it, threw his wife into the flames, lest she should fall into the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poison^e.

*The un-
happy end
of Diæus.*

After this defeat, all things were in the utmost confusion at Corinth. The inhabitants, finding themselves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for safety, leaving the city deserted. The gates were open, and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The consul, fearing some ambuscade, restrained the ar-

^d Pausan. ubi supra. Auct. de Vir. illust.
Achæic. Zonaras, lib. ix. cap. 31.

Pausan. in

dour of his soldiers, who were very eager to enter Corinth, and enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city. Mummius remained in suspense for the space of three days; at the end of which, after having taken all proper precautions, and narrowly observed all places, both within and without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his soldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themselves to forsake their native country, were all put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves. Then the town was ransacked by the greedy soldiers; but who can compute the immense treasures they found! There were more vessels of all sorts of metals, more fine pictures, and statues of the greatest masters, in Corinth, than in any city of the world. All the princes of Europe and Asia, who had any taste in painting and sculpture, furnished themselves here with their richest moveables: here were cast the finest statues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greatest perfection. Many inestimable pieces of the most famous painters and statuarys fell into the hands of soldiers, who, not knowing their value, either destroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas. Polybius was an eye-witness of the want of taste in the Romans of those days.

Mummius enters Corinth, and plunders it.

The rich spoils of Corinth.

This brave Achæan, upon the first news that his countrymen had taken up arms against Rome, left Africa, where he was attending Scipio at the siege of Carthage, and hastened to Achaia, to do his country all the service in his power. He was in the Roman army when Corinth was plundered, and had the mortification to see the Roman soldiers playing at dice on a picture of Aristides (M), which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They set no value on that master-piece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon: but when the spoils of Corinth were put up to sale, Attalus, king of Pergamus, offered for it six hun-

(M) Aristides, who was contemporary with Apelles, flourished at Thebes about the one hundred and twenty-second Olympiad. He is said to have been the first that attempted to represent the passions of the

soul in colours. The piece here spoke of was a Bacchus, so exquisitely done, that it was proverbially said of any extraordinary performance, "It is as well done as the Bacchus of Aristides (1)."

(1) Plin. lib. xxv. cap. 4, & 10. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 381.

dred thousand sesterces ; that is, near five thousand pounds of our money. The consul, surpris'd that the price of a picture should be carried so high, thought there was some magical virtue in it; and therefore, interposing his authority, retained it, notwithstanding the complaints of Atalus. He was not actuated by his private interest; for he did not appropriate it to himself, but placed it in the temple of Ceres, where Strabo had the pleasure of seeing it, before it was consumed in the fire which reduced that temple to ashes^f. Mummius was a great warrior, but seems to have had no taste for painting or sculpture; for, when he put the pictures and statues he had taken in Corinth on board the transports, he told the masters of the vessels very seriously, that if any of them were either lost or spoiled, he would oblige them to find others, at their own cost; as if any other pieces could have supplied the loss of those inestimable originals, finished by the most celebrated masters in Greece^g!

Yr. of Fl.
202.
Ante Chr.
146.

*Corinth
reduced to
ashes.*

Corinth being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to ashes, pursuant to the decree of the senate; which the consul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was set to all the corners of the city at the same time, and the flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at last united there, and made one general conflagration; which is said to have produced that famous mixture, which art could never imitate. The gold, silver, and brass, which the Corinthians had concealed, were melted, and ran down the streets in streams. Some of the greedy soldiers, in attempting to save part of those metals, perished in the flames. When the fire was extinguished, a new composition was found, composed of several different metals (N), and greatly esteemed in the following ages. The walls of the city were demolished, and razed to the foundations. Thus was Corinth destroyed, the same year that Carthage was laid in ashes. By the destruction of two such cities, the Romans intended to strike terror into the rest of the world, and keep

^f Strab. lib. viii. p. 381. Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 4, & 10. Cic. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 76, 77. ^g Vel. Pat. lib. i. cap. 13.

(N) Pliny tells us, that of the colour of money, according to the different proportions of gold, silver, and the white, and that which was copper, that were in it (a).

(a) Plin. lib. vii. cap. 38.

all nations steady in their obedience to Rome. Corinth was destroyed nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation, by Aletes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. Cicero, who approved of the destruction of Carthage and Numantia, wished that Corinth, where the arts of painting and sculpture seemed to have taken up their habitation, had been spared ^b.

It does not appear, that the Achæans had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of their country, or that they summoned any assembly to deliberate on the measures it was necessary to take. No one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. The Achæan league seemed to have been buried under the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of this city alarmed and dismayed the whole confederacy.

It was now necessary to determine the fate of the Achæans in general. As to the Corinthians, and such slaves as had taken up arms against Rome, they were condemned to slavery, and carefully fought out in the places whither they had fled. The whole nation was ordered to assemble in the open fields, where they were surrounded by the Roman legions; and, because they were afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the natives of Corinth, and such slaves as had served in the troops, should be made captives and sold. The consul granted the rest of the inhabitants of Achaia their liberty, and sold the lands of the citizens of Corinth, which were in great part purchased by the Sicyonians. Thebes, Chalcis, and some other cities that had joined the Achæans, were by the consul's orders dismantled. Achaia was condemned to pay the Lacedæmonians two hundred talents for the damages they had suffered during the war. Soon after, ten commissioners arrived from Rome, to regulate the affairs of Greece in general, and of Achaia in particular, in conjunction with the consul. These abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates, who were to govern each city according to their respective laws, under the superintendency of a Roman prætor. Thus the Achæan league was dissolved, and Greece reduced to a Roman province, called the province of Achaia, because, at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the

The Achæans severely punished by the Romans.

The Achæan league dissolved, and Achaia reduced to a Roman province.

^b Cic. de Offic. lib. i. cap. 35.

most powerful people of Greece. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to Rome; and the prætor, who was sent thither every year, was charged with the care of collecting it.

Philopœmen accused after his death of having been an enemy to the Romans;

but defended by Polybius.

An instance of Polybius's disinterestedness.

We have observed before, that Polybius, on his return into Peloponnesus, had the mortification to see the city of Corinth reduced to ashes, and his country become a Roman province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on so mournful an occasion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master in the science of war. A Roman, from some private grudge to that great hero, accused him before Mummius, as if he had been still alive, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and always opposing their designs, to the utmost of his power. What the accuser proposed by this new prosecution was, that all the statues and monuments erected to the memory of Philopœmen, in most cities of the Achæan league, should be destroyed, and his glorious feats buried in oblivion. The accusation was not without foundation; for as that brave Achæan was a true friend to his country, so he was an enemy in his heart to the Romans, being apprised, that nothing but the absolute subjection of Greece could satisfy their pride and ambition. However, Polybius boldly took upon him his defence; and represented him as the greatest man Greece had produced in latter times: he owned, that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far, but that he had rendered the people of Rome considerable services on various occasions. The ten commissioners, at whose tribunal he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, but more with the gratitude he shewed in defending his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopœmen should not be touched; and that his monuments should remain till they were overturned by Time, the destroyer of all things. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, begged of him the statues of Aratus, and Achæus the founder of the nation; which were granted, though they had been already transported from Peloponnesus into Acarnania. At the same time he gave a signal proof of his disinterestedness, which gained him as much esteem among his countrymen as his defending the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, the effects of those who had been the authors of the insults offered to the Roman ambassadors, were sold by auction. When those of Diæus were put up, the commissioners ordered the qua-

stor,

stor, who sold them, to let Polybius have whatever he pleased, without taking any thing from him on that account: but Polybius refused the offer, saying, that he looked upon it as a very dishonourable thing to enrich himself with the spoils of his fellow-citizens¹.

This refusal gave the commissioners such an idea of his virtue and probity, that, upon their leaving Peloponnesus, they appointed him to visit all the cities of Greece, and every where settle the new form of government: a very honourable commission, which he discharged to the satisfaction of the senate of Rome, and the people of Achaia, who erected many statues in honour of their benefactor; and, among others, one with this inscription: "To the memory of Polybius, whose counsels would have saved Achaia, if they had been followed; and who comforted his country in her distress^k."

He is appointed to settle the new form of government.

Mummius, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, which was embellished with all the finest paintings and sculptures that Greece had ever produced; and, as he had made an absolute conquest of Achaia, he ever after bore the surname of Achaicus. Thus the Romans destroyed every thing that gave them umbrage, and plundered other nations to enrich themselves; which was making war, notwithstanding their boasted politeness, after the manner of barbarians. From this time Achaia was governed, like the other Roman provinces, by a prætor sent thither annually from Rome, till the reign of Nero, who restored all Greece to the enjoyment of its ancient liberties, reducing, at the same time, Sardinia to a Roman province, and laying on that wealthy island the tribute which Achaia had paid^l. But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindness, being soon after reduced by Vespasian to their former state of subjection. This misfortune they brought a-new upon themselves by their domestic broils and discord, which could no otherwise be composed, but by depriving them of that liberty which they no longer knew how to enjoy^m. Under Nerva some shadow at least of their liberty was restored to them; but they were still governed by a Roman prætor; and also in Trajan's time, as appears from a letter of Pliny the Younger to Maximus, who was sent to govern Achaia; wherein, after having exhorted him to use his power with moderation, he concludes, that it would be barbarous and

Mummius honoured with a triumph.

Various fortune of Achaia.

¹ Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, 192.

^l Suet. in Neron. Pausan. in Achaic. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 6. Eutrop. cap. 4.

^m Pausan. ibid.

^k Pausan. in Achaic.

inhuman

inhuman to deprive the Achæans of that faint image, that shadow, which remained of their ancient liberty^a. In this condition they remained, with little alteration, till the reign of Constantine the Great, who, in his new partition of the Roman provinces, subjected Achaia to the præfectus prætorio of Illyricum. Upon the division of the empire, Achaia, with the rest of Greece, fell to the emperors of the East. Under Arcadius and Honorius, all those provinces suffered greatly by the incursions of the Goths, who, under their king Alaric, laid waste the whole country, reducing the stately and magnificent structures, that were then remaining, to heaps of ruins^c. From that time we find no account of any thing that passed among them till the reign of the emperor Emanuel, or Manuel, who, in the twelfth century, dividing Peloponnesus into seven principalities, bestowed it on his seven sons, styling them despotes or lords of Morea. Its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in Greek morea, and in Latin morus, gave occasion to this appellation. In process of time, these dynasties were not only bestowed on the emperor's children, and the princes of the blood, but also on such others as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. In the thirteenth century, when Constantinople was taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of Peloponnesus, with most of the islands, were allotted to the Venetians. In the fifteenth century, Constantine Dracofes, despot of Morea, being raised to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, Demetrius and Thomas, bestowing Sparta on the former, and Corinth on the latter. These princes making war upon each other, Mohammed II. took advantage of the divisions, and, under pretence of assisting one against the other, stripped them both of their dominion. Thomas fled to Rome; but Demetrius, who had implored the assistance of the Barbarians against his brother, was carried captive to Adrianople. The Mahomedans, having thus got footing in Morea, soon drove the Venetians from the cities they possessed on the coast, and made themselves absolute masters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were, in their turn, driven out by the Venetians, under the conduct of general Morosini, in 1687. By the treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, the Barbarians yielded it to the republic of Venice; but retook it in 1715, and in their

^a Plin. lib. viii. Epist. 24.

^c Synesius, Epist. 235.

hands

hands it still continues, being governed by a sangiac under the beglerbeg of Greece, who resides at Modon ^P.

The History of Ætolia.

THE republic of Ætolia (O) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of Achaia, and formed upon the same plan, being governed by a general assembly, a prætor, and other magistrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general assembly, called by the ancients panætolum, met usually once a year; but the prætor was empowered to summon it at other times, upon any extraordinary occasion, the whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Besides the panætolum, or great council of the nation, which consisted of members chosen by each city of the Ætolian alliance, there was another called the apocleti. This was composed of the most eminent men in the nation, their office answering that of the demiurgi among the Achæans, which we have spoken of above; but as to their number, history gives us no information. Their chief magistrates, after the prætor, were the general of the horse, the public secretary, and the ephori. The two first were held in great esteem; for, in the last alliance they concluded with the Romans, they allowed them to chuse forty hostages out of the whole nation, without excepting any but the general of the horse, and the secretary, as if the nation could not subsist without them. The ephori were instituted in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, with whom they were many ages strictly united: their office was the same as that of the Spartan ephori; but they acted in subordination to the general diet, and the prætor. The Ætolian confederacy was formed some time after that of the Achæans, whose example they followed, uniting several cities, which were before independent of each

The Ætolian confederacy.

^P Vide P. Coronelli Descrizon di Morea, Alessandro Locatelli, Raconto della Veneta Guerra in Levante.

(O) Under the name of Ætolia was formerly comprehended that country, which is now called the Despotat, or Little Greece. It was parted, on the east, by the river Evrus, now the Fidari, from the Locrenses Ozolæ; on the west, from Acarnania, by the Achæous; on the north, it bordered upon the country of the Dorians, and part of Epirus; and, on the south, extended to the bay of Corinth.

other,

*Character
of the Æto-
lians.*

other, into one republic, that they might be enabled to withstand the attempts of the Macedonian princes, who aspired to the sovereignty of all Greece¹.

The Ætolians were a turbulent people; seldom at peace among themselves, and generally at war with their neighbours; utter strangers to all sense of friendship, or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the least prospect of reaping any advantage from their treachery: in short, they were looked upon by the other states of Greece no otherwise than as outlaws and public robbers². On the other hand, they were bold and enterprising in war; inured to labour and hardships; undaunted in the greatest dangers; jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were, on all occasions, willing to venture their lives, and sacrifice all that was dear to them. They distinguished themselves, above all the other nations of Greece, in opposing the ambitious designs of the Macedonian princes; who, after having reduced most of the other states, were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the gallant behaviour of this warlike people, in defending the common liberties of Greece against those powerful invaders, we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Alexander, and his successors; our present province being confined to those occurrences only, that happened after they had formed themselves into a republic. The constitution of the Ætolian republic was copied from that of the Achæans, and with a view to form a counter-alliance; for, the Ætolians bore an irreconcilable hatred to the Achæans, and had conceived no small jealousy at the growing power of that state. The Cleomenic war, and that of the allies, called the Social War, were kindled by the Ætolians in the heart of Peloponnesus, with a view to humble their antagonists the Achæans. In the latter, they resisted, with the assistance only of the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, for the space of three years, the united forces of Achæia and Macedon; but were obliged at last to purchase a peace, by yielding up to Philip all Acarnania. As they gave up this province with reluctance, they watched all opportunities of wresting it out of the Macedonian's hands; and one very favourable for their design soon offered.

M. Valerius Lævinus had been appointed, by the Roman senate, to guard the coasts of Italy on the side of

¹ Polyb. lib. ii.

² Ibid. lib. iv.

Greece, and to watch the motions of Philip, who, after concluding an alliance with Hannibal, was preparing to pass over into Italy. The Roman had under his command a fleet of fifty ships of war, and a legion for land-service; but as he was not in a condition, with so small a force, to oppose the designs of Philip, he cast his eyes on the Ætolians, who were dissatisfied with the peace they had concluded with the Macedonians, and their allies. This general discontent Lævinus resolved to improve to the advantage of his republic; and, by inciting the Ætolians against Philip, to divert him from any attempts upon Italy. As he was cruising with his Squadron on the coasts of Greece, he invited some of the Ætolians on board; and, entering into a private conference with them, found, that it would be no difficult matter to engage the whole nation in the interests of Rome. To this end, he repaired to their general assembly, where he gave them an account of the victories Rome had lately gained over Hannibal, and the conquests of Marcellus in Sicily. He extolled the great generosity, and constant fidelity, of the Romans towards their allies; adding, that the Ætolians might expect to be looked upon with distinction by Rome, if they were the first nation beyond the seas that joined her; that Philip was a dangerous neighbour, and his overgrown power would prove fatal to them, unless they were supported by some more potent state; that the Romans, in conjunction with the Ætolians, would easily oblige him to quit Acarnania, which he had usurped, and keep himself upon the defensive in his own dominions. He concluded his speech by assuring them, that if they entered into engagements with Rome, Philip should never obtain a peace, without restoring Acarnania to its former owners*.

Lævinus proposes to the Ætolians an alliance with Rome.

Scopas, at that time prætor of the Ætolians, and Dorimachus, a man of great authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises made by Lævinus, expatiating, in commendation of the Romans, with all the eloquence which they were masters of; for Lævinus, out of modesty, had said but little in praise of his republic. These two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the Romans, but for sending deputies to the neighbouring states, inviting them to accede to the same alliance. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to Elis, La-

* Fast. Capit. Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 24—26.

Yr. of Fl.

2137.
Ante Chr.

211.

*The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans.**The alliance confirmed by both parties.*

cedæmon, and Attalus, king of Pergamus (K); to Pleuratus (L), and Scerdelaidas, king of the best part of Illyricum. In the senate of Lacedæmon, two orators, Chlæneas, and Lyciscus, made long harangues; the first in favour of the Ætolians and Romans, the other in favour of king Philip^t; but the Ætolians carried their point, and Lacedæmon, with Elis, declared for Rome. The kings Pleuratus and Scerdelaidas followed the example of Lacedæmon; so that the treaty was drawn up in these words: "If the inhabitants of Elis, the Lacedæmonians, Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdelaidas, think fit to enter into an alliance with the Romans, let them immediately arm, and make war upon Philip. The Romans shall furnish the confederates with twenty ships at least. All the conquests that shall be made between the confines of Ætolia and the sea of Corcyra, shall belong to the confederates; and the captives and booty to the Romans. The latter shall do their utmost to put the Ætolians in possession of Acarnania. The Ætolians shall not conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition that he withdraw his troops from the territories of Rome, and her allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but upon the same terms."

These articles were not signed till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the Ætolians at Olympia, and the senate at Rome. This delay was occasioned by the dilatoriness of the Romans, in sending ambassadors into Ætolia. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the senate ordered them to be placed in the capitol, as a lasting monument of their first alliance with the Greek nation. However, hostilities began as soon as the treaty was concluded: Lævinus seized on the island and city of Zacynthus, took Æniadæ, and also Nafus (M),

^t Vide Polyb. lib. ix. cap. 22, 23.^u Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 24.

(K) Attalus mentioned here is Attalus I. who succeeded his father Eumenes I. brother to Philætærus.

(L) Livy makes this Pleuratus one of the kings of Thrace; but Polybius speaks of him as king of a country in Illyricum.

(M) Nafus, or Nafus, was a city of Acarnania, not far

from the mouth of the Achelous. There were two cities that bore the name of Æniadæ; one in Acarnania, on the Ionian sea, near the mouth of the Achelous; this city, according to our modern travellers, is now called Dragomesto: the other was, according to Stephanus, in Thrace, not far from Mount Cæta.

two cities of Acarnania, and restored them to the Ætolians. After these exploits, he retired, with his fleet, to Corcyra, where he wintered, fully persuaded, that the king would now give over all thoughts of invading Italy *.

Philip was at Pella, making preparations for his expedition into Italy, when news were brought him of the late treaty concluded by the Ætolians: whereupon he altered his measures, and resolved to fall upon his new enemies the next summer. Accordingly, he took the field early in the spring, laid waste the Ætolian territories, and then marched back his forces into Macedon, in order to oppose the Mædi (N), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his absence, Scopas, then prætor and general of the Ætolians, entered Acarnania, in hopes of reducing that country, before Philip could return to their assistance. This conquest had been begun the last campaign by Lævinus, who had taken Æniadæ, and Nafus, and was now near enough to assist the Ætolians with his fleet and legion. The Acarnanians were sensible, that they could not oppose two such powerful nations at the same time; but, nevertheless, resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Accordingly, having sent into Epirus all their women, children, and such as were not able to bear arms, those who remained, from the age of fifteen to sixty, bound themselves, by oath, not to return home till they had utterly destroyed the Ætolians. They only desired the Epirots to place the ashes of those, who should fall in battle, in one tomb, with the following epitaph: "Here lie the Acarnanians, who died fighting for their country, in opposition to the violence and injustice of the Ætolians." This resolution so terrified the Ætolians, that they returned home, without offering to do any thing that might provoke a people resolved to conquer, or die *.

Philip lays waste the Ætolian territories.

The Ætolians enter Acarnania.

The gallant resolution of the Acarnanians.

The Ætolians, not daring to invade Acarnania, turned their arms against Anticyra, a city of the Locri, and in the neighbourhood of Ætolia. This place they invested by land, and Lævinus at the same time blocked up by sea.

* Liv. *ibid.*

* Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 25.

(N) The Mædi possessed a part of Thrace, beyond Mount Rhodope; and therefore Ptolemy calls their country Mædica; but others give it the

name of Macedonian Greece, because it bordered on Macedon, on the side of the Ægean sea.

The Ætolians and Romans take Anticyra.

The Ætolians defeated by Philip of Macedon.

A thirty days truce.

Being battered night and day on all sides, it was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. Lævinus, pursuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the Ætolians, reserving for his own troops the captives, and the plunder. The Ætolians, flushed with this success, leaving Lævinus at Anticyra, entered Achaia, and there committed such ravages, as obliged Philip to quit Demetrias (O), where he was encamped, and draw near to Greece. On his march, he met the Ætolian army, commanded by Pyrrhias, prætor for that year, who had advanced as far as Theffaly, to give the Macedonians battle. The two armies met near Lamia, a city of Phthiotis, in the Ætolian interest. Pyrrhias had been reinforced with a strong detachment of king Attalus's troops, and a thousand legionaries, sent him by P. Sulpitius, who had succeeded Lævinus as prætor of Greece. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, the Ætolians were twice defeated, and forced to save themselves under the walls of Lamia. After this victory, Philip encamped in the neighbourhood of Phalara, near the mouth of the Sperchius, with a design to surprize a strong detachment of Ætolian cavalry, which was to return from Theffaly, and pass that way; but, while he was encamped here, ambassadors arrived from Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, attended with a great number of deputies from the islands of Chios and Rhodes, and the city of Athens. Their errand was to prevail on Philip and the Ætolians to put an end to the war. This was not so much out of good-will to the latter, as jealousy of the former, who, by reducing the Ætolians, might easily enslave all Greece, and have a ready access to the cities, which Ptolemy possessed out of Egypt. Philip deferred the conferences till the next diet of the Achæans; and, in the mean time, granted the Ætolians a truce of thirty days. In this interval, Philip was invited by the Greeks to preside at the Heræan (P) and Nemæan games. This

was

(O) The city of Demetrias, now Dimitriada, was built by Demetrius Poliorcetes, on the sea-coast of Theffaly, near the territory of the Magnesians.

(P) The Heræan games, or Heræan festivals, were celebrated by the Argians with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called

Haræan, from the Greek word *Ἥρα*, signifying Juno, whom the inhabitants of Argolis worshipped as their tutelary goddess, and in whose honour this festival was first instituted. The ceremony consisted in a pompous procession, made by the Argian youth, under arms.

The statue of Juno, which was of

was a distinction which the Greeks had shewn him, and confirmed by their suffrages, pretending, that the first king of Macedon was a native of Greece. In this station, the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and indulged himself in debauchery to excess. At last the diet was held, which drew him from his pleasures to Rhium, the place appointed for the assembly. The negotiation began; and most of the nations engaged in the war, inclined to a reconciliation, fearing Attalus and the Romans would take advantage of their divisions, and get footing in Greece. At the opening of the assembly, one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord; in a speech which is still preserved, and may be considered as a master-piece of the kind. The discourse moved the whole assembly; and it was no sooner ended, than Philip's ambassadors were introduced, who declared, that their master was ready to give peace to Greece, if the Ætolians would consent to it; and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the prosecution of the war. The Ætolians, however, came to no resolution. In the mean time Attalus arrived, with his fleet, at the island of Ægina, and Sulpitius, with his, at Naupactus (Q); incidents which made the Ætolians put an end

*Conferences
for concluding
a peace.*

• Polyb. lib. xi. cap. 4.

of ivory and gold, and thought one of the best performances of the famous Polycletus, was carried in a chariot, drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's seat was placed the image of one Trochilus, the son of Callithea, who was the first priestess of Juno Argiva. The Heræan games were common to some other nations of Greece, and also to the islanders, namely, to the inhabitants of Samos, Ægina, and Cos.

As to the Nemæan games, most of the ancients agree, that they were instituted in honour of Archemorus, the son of Lycus, according to some, or of Lycurgus, king of Thrace, as others will have it. They

were first celebrated near Nemæa, a city of Argolis. Some say they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion, that they were instituted before the Theban war; but all agree, that they were revived by Hercules, and consecrated to Jupiter, in thanksgiving for his victory over the Nemæan lion.

(Q) Naupactus, or Naupactum, was formerly a considerable city in Ætolia. The present inhabitants call it Epactos, or Nepactos; the Turks, Einebacti, and the Italians Lepanto. It stood near Antirrhium, within the Crissean bay, and was called Naupactum,

The conferences broken off.

end to conferences: for they declared, that they would consent to no peace, unless Pylus was restored to the Messenians, Atintania to the Romans, and the country of the Ardians to Pleuratus and Scerdilaidas. Philip, incensed at their presumption, left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he assured them, that he was sincerely desirous of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals; but could not by any means brook such insults, from those he had conquered².

Yr. of Fl.

2140.

Ante Chr.

208.

The Romans invade the territories of the confederates; but retreat at the approach of Philip;

The assembly being dismissed, the king went to Argos, to preside in the Nemæan games. While he was giving himself up, without restraint, to the enjoyment of such diversions as were not seasonable in times of war and alarms, the pro-consul Sulpitius, setting out from Naupactus, landed between Sicyon and Corinth; and, being joined by the Ætolians, laid waste all that fertile country. This unexpected invasion obliged Philip to interrupt his diversions, and take the field. His arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that, leaving the booty behind, they hastened to their ships, and re-embarked for Naupactus. Philip returned to the games, where he was received with an universal applause, the circus, the theatre, and all the streets of the city echoing with his name; but he gained more on the affections of the Greeks, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the shews without his diadem, purple robe, or any other ensigns of royal dignity; a sight very pleasing to the inhabitants of free cities³.

Some days after the games, he received intelligence that the city of Dyme, on the confines of Elis, had declared for the Ætolians, though it stood in Peloponnesus, and had admitted an Ætolian garrison. Hereupon Philip, crossing the Larissus, entered the territory of Elis, ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was soon obliged, by the Romans and Ætolians, to retire to a greater distance. However, he took by storm, in sight of the Romans and Ætolians, a fortress of great importance, where he found a consider-

who takes one of the enemy's fortresses.

² Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 29—33. Polyb. lib. x. p. 612. ³ Polyb. & Liv. *ibid.*

tum, because the Heraclidæ carried them into Peloponnesus (1).

(1) Strabo, lib. ix. Pausan. in Phocicis,

able booty. While he was dividing the plunder among his soldiers, advice was brought that the Dardanians had entered Macedon, and possessed themselves of a small district, called Orestida; that the Dassaratæ had revolted, and that several cities were ready to join the rebels (Q). His presence, therefore, being necessary in his own dominions, he hastened home, leaving only a body of three thousand men to protect his friends in Greece ^b.

During his absence the Romans, Ætolians, and king Attalus, possessed themselves of Oreum, Opus, Torone, Tribonos, and Drymus. In consequence of these conquests of the enemy, ambassadors being dispatched to him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he settled the affairs of Macedon, and marched back, with incredible expedition, into Greece. Upon his arrival Attalus re-embarked his forces, and returned to Pergamus; Sulpitius, having but one legion on board, retired to the island of Ægina; and the Ætolians, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to shelter themselves in their fortifications, not being able to oppose the united forces of Macedon and Achaia, with the assistance of the Lacedæmonians alone. Philip, thus left master of the field, retook most of the cities which had been reduced in his absence, laid waste great part of Ætolia, put the Lacedæmonians to flight; and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back into Macedon. Early in the spring he returned into Greece; and, entering Ætolia at the head of a numerous army, obliged the Ætolians to conclude a peace upon very disadvantageous terms. The Romans, employed in a more important war at home, had left their friends in Greece to shift for themselves; but, nevertheless, were highly offended that the Ætolians had made a peace without their consent and approbation. Sempronius, the proconsul, endeavoured to incense them against

The Ætolians, and their confederates, possess themselves of several cities.

Yr. of Fl.
2144.
Ante Chr.
204.

A general peace concluded.

^b Idem ibid.

(Q) The Barbarians had been encouraged to shake off the yoke, and invade the kingdom of Macedon, by a false report of the king's death. Philip, in pursuing the Roman and Ætolian foragers, between Corinth and Sicyon, had struck his head against a tree with such violence, that he broke

his helmet in pieces. These pieces were gathered up by an Ætolian, and brought to Scerdilaidas, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet: and hence arose the report that Philip had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage.

M 2

Philip,

Philip, but to no purpose; they were quite exhausted with such an expensive war, and not in a condition to lend the pro-consul any assistance. He, therefore, altered his measures, and, instead of making war, began to treat with the king, and his allies, of a peace, which was soon agreed on by the mediation of the Epirots^c.

The Romans strive to engage the Ætolians in a war with Philip.

An extraordinary diet held at Naupaetus.

Speeches of the several ambassadors.

This peace was not of long continuance; for the Romans having, a few years after, resolved upon a war with Philip, sent Furius Purpureo into Ætolia, to engage that nation again in the interests of Rome. Furius was attended by the envoys of Athens, a city much attached to the Romans; and, at the same time, ambassadors from Philip arrived, with very advantageous proposals, in case the Ætolians would either join their master or stand neuter. The Ætolian nation was never more honoured than at this time, when they saw their friendship and alliance courted by a great king, and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the ambassadors, an extraordinary diet was convened at Naupaetus, whither the envoys from Rome, from Athens, and from Philip, immediately repaired. Damocritus presided in the diet in quality of prætor; and, as he had been bribed by Philip, he directed that the Macedonians should be heard before the Romans: his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between Philip and Ætolia was yet fresh, and had been but lately concluded. The speech made by the Macedonian ambassadors was full of invectives against the Romans; they enlarged on their proceedings at Rhegium, Capua, and Tarentum, as instances of their treachery and cruelty; and concluded with exhorting the Ætolians to observe the conditions of peace they had concluded a few years before with Philip. The Athenians, who spoke next, endeavoured to efface the impressions which this discourse had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impiety of Philip, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had shewn no regard to the august temples of the gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the Romans; and, lastly, conjured the Ætolians to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, heaven and Rome. Afterwards Purpureo was heard; and his speech chiefly turned on justifying the conduct of the Romans with regard to the three cities mentioned by the Macedonian orator; he descanted on the lenity and moderation shewn

^c Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 7.

by his republic to the Carthaginians, and retorted the reproaches of cruelty upon Philip; he did not forget the advantages which the consular army had gained over the king; and, lastly, advised the Ætolians not to neglect the present opportunity of renewing their confederacy with the Romans, unless they chose rather to perish with Philip than conquer with Rome ^d.

The diet was inclined to favour the Romans; but Damocritus suspended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could be resolved upon but in a general diet, which this was not. The artful prætor made a merit with his countrymen of his address in this affair, pretending, that his design was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was most likely to prevail, and then join the strongest ^e.

Damocritus suspends the determination of the diet.

In the mean time the pro-consul Sulpitius, having penetrated into the king's dominions, and defeated him near Octolophum, the Ætolians, at last, determined to side with the conqueror; and accordingly, in conjunction with Amyntander, king of the Athamanes (R), they made an irruption into Macedon, and laid siege to Cercinium, a city of Magnesia (S). This sudden invasion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake Bœbis (T), who, abandoning the country, fled to the neighbouring mountains; so that the Ætolians, finding no more booty there, fell upon the province of Perrhœbia, took the city

Yr. of Fl.
2147.
Ante Chr.
201.

The Ætolians join in alliance with the Romans.

^d Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 29.

^e Idem ibid. cap. 30.

(R) The Athamanes had then a separate district of their own, surrounded by Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, and Doris; whence some have made it a part of Thessaly, others of Epirus: Pliny places it in Ætolia; Stephanus makes it a part of Illyricum. According to Ptolemy, it was divided from Epirus by the bay of Ambracia (1); and, according to Strabo (2), from Ætolia, by the river Achelous.

(S) Magnesia was a small country, lying at the eastern extremity of Thessaly, between the Gulf of Armiro and the Saronic Gulf. Cercinium stood at the foot of Mount Ossa, near the lake Bœbis, between Sothussa and the Macedonian sea (3).

(T) The lake Bœbis, which some place in Bœotia, was near the confines of Magnesia, not far from Mount Ossa. It is now called the Lake of Efero (4).

(1) Ptol. lib. iv.
(4) Strab. lib. x.

(2) Strabo, lib. x.

(3) Strab. lib. ix.

of Cyretiaë by assault, and obliged Mallæa (U) to take up arms, and join them against the king of Macedon. From Mallæa Amynder proposed marching against Gomphi, which was very near Athamania, and might have been very easily reduced; but the Ætolians chose rather to pillage Thessaly than assist Amynder in subduing a city, which was so conveniently situated to protect his small dominions from the inroads of the Thessalians. The Ætolians having entered Thessaly, committed great devastations, dividing themselves into small bodies, and lying in the open fields, without keeping guard, or securing themselves with trenches. Amynder, seeing he had reason to apprehend some sudden attack in an enemy's country, advised them to be upon their guard, and encamp in a regular manner; but they despised his advice, and advanced to the walls of Phæcadum; where, lying down on the grass, they gave themselves up to eating and drinking, as if they had been in the heart of Ætolia. Amynder thought it advisable to withdraw to a rising-ground, about five hundred paces from the Ætolians, and there secure himself with a ditch and rampart. He was scarce gone when Philip appeared at the head of a numerous body of horse, fell upon the Ætolians, and cut most of them in pieces; those that escaped fled to Amynder's camp, whither they were pursued by the Macedonians: but Philip, contrary to his expectation, finding the camp well fortified, and the Athamanes ready to receive him, deferred the attack till next morning, his infantry being tired with the long march they had made to surprise the enemy. In the night, the few Ætolians that remained, and the Athamanes, decamped together, and, under the conduct of Amynder, escaped through bye-ways, to their own countries^f.

Philip surprises the Ætolians.

The Ætolians reduce great part of Thessaly.

Next year they entered Thessaly again, and took the cities of Cymines and Augea, at the first onset: from thence they advanced to Theuma, Calathama, Achorra, Xinia, and Cyphara; all which cities they took, and pil-

^f Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 40.

(U) Mallæa, or Malia, was a city of Phthiotis, not far from Mount Ceta and Thermopylaë. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by Catullus, in his Elegies. Some are of opinion, that the Malian Gulf, now the Gulf of Zeiton, borrowed its name from this city (5).

(5) Strab. lib. ix.

laged.

laged. Thus great part of Thessaly fell a prey to the most cruel and avaricious of all the nations that were in alliance with Rome; for the Ætolians, wherever they came, left nothing in the cities or houses but the bare walls, destroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting the inhabitants to the sword, or selling them for slaves to the best bidder.

The Ætolians continued steady in the interest of Rome during the whole course of the war, and were favoured by the Roman commanders above the other nations of Greece, as being the first that had joined in alliance with their republic: but after the famous battle of Cynocephalæ, in which Philip was entirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool; and Flaminius, who commanded in that action, treated the Ætolians in an imperious manner. They, without all doubt, gave some occasion, with their boasting speeches, to this change in his behaviour. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement; and, by covering the Roman infantry, which was put in disorder at the first onset, gave them time to rally, and saved them the shame of a dishonourable flight. Hence they ascribed to themselves all the glory of the victory, insinuating, that, without their timely assistance, the Romans would have been defeated, and cut in pieces. In the songs, which they dispersed all over Greece, they named themselves as the chiefs, and the Romans as their auxiliaries. Flaminius, already disgusted with the Ætolians for plundering the enemy's camp, while the Romans were busy in making prisoners, was irritated by these insolent reports, which greatly lessened his reputation among the Greeks. His resentment was still warm, when three envoys came from Philip, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to solicit a peace: the proconsul received them, and gave an answer, without consulting the heads of the Ætolian nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory.

The Roman was glad of this opportunity to mortify their vanity, whereas he ought to have been more tender of allies who had proved so useful to him on all occasions. Flaminius agreed with the deputies of Philip upon a truce of fifteen days, without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the Roman army; and even promised to grant their master an interview during that time. This

Yr. of Fl.
2151.
Ante Chr.
197.

*Behaviour
of the Æ-
tolians at
the battle
of Cyno-
cephalæ.*

*The Æto-
lians a-
scribe all
the glory of
the victory
to them-
selves.*

*Flaminius
mortifies
their va-
nity.*

The Ætolians jealous of Flaminius's conduct.

air of absolute authority, and independence on the other allies, shocked the Ætolians to such a degree, that they spread a report in all the cities of Greece, that Flaminius was betraying the common cause, and that he had been bribed by Philip: but, notwithstanding these reports, the proconsul appointed a place for the conference; and, after having treated the king's ambassadors with uncommon civility, enjoined them to tell their master, that he desired him not to despond. This message highly offended the Ætolians, who were utter strangers to all humanity and politeness; and confirmed them in their opinion, that the Roman had been corrupted by Philip. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow pass which led into the vale of Tempe: thither Flaminius repaired, after having invited all his allies to assist at the conferences, which he would not begin till he had consulted the confederates upon what terms they thought it proper to grant Philip a peace. Arynander, and the Achæans, spoke with great moderation; and only begged, that he would conclude such a peace as might enable Greece to preserve her liberties in the absence of the Romans: as to the particulars of the treaty, they referred them entirely to his prudence and judgement. But Alexander, one of the principal Ætolians, rising up, addressed the proconsul, in the following terms: "You have done wisely to call us to the conference; you have at last thought fit not to treat of a peace without your allies. But pray, what do you propose by granting a peace to Philip? Greece will never enjoy its liberties so long as he enjoys the throne of Macedon: you are greatly mistaken if you believe it will. Philip must be driven out of his kingdom, before Greece can promise herself a lasting tranquillity. You, Romans, have flattered us with hopes of liberty; but there is no liberty for the Greeks till Philip is dead, and his dominions entirely ruined." When Alexander had done speaking, Flaminius directing his speech to him; "You are unacquainted, said he, with the character and sentiments of the Romans. My republic does not carry her resentments to excess: she knows how to revenge injuries; but, upon the first appearance of submission, her anger is appeased: Hannibal and Carthage are convincing proofs of our moderation. As to myself, I never intended to carry on an irreconcilable war with Philip; but was always inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that my republic thought fit to prescribe. You yourselves, O Ætolians, never once mentioned

Ætolians against a peace with Philip.

Flaminius's speech.

tioned the driving of Philip from his throne till our late victory. Shall we then be inexorable, because we are conquerors? When an enemy attacks us, it is our duty to repel him with all possible bravery; but if he yields, it is the part of a generous victor to use him with gentleness and humanity; for animosity dies after victory, and brave men are courageous in action, but mild after it. Nay, it is not your interest to destroy the kingdom of Macedon, which serves you as a barrier against the Thracians and Gauls (W), who, were they not checked by it, would certainly over-run all Greece^b." Flaminius concluded with declaring, in the name of all the officers of the Roman army, "That a peace ought to be granted to Philip, if he complied with the conditions which the other allies should propose; adding, that if the Ætolians did not like it, they might take what resolutions they pleased on that occasion." Phæneas, the Ætolian prætor, answered Flaminius, and represented to him in very strong terms, "That Philip, if he was left in possession of Macedon, would soon kindle a new war in the heart of Greece." But, before he ended his harangue, the proconsul rose from his seat in a passion, and, saying with a loud voice, "That he would put it out of Philip's power to make any farther attempts upon Greece," dismissed the assembly^c.

But, after all, it was not good-nature or compassion that prompted Flaminius to urge the conclusion of a peace with the king of Macedon; but the advice he received, that Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was ready to march out of Syria at the head of a powerful army, and make an irruption into Europe. This prince had long maintained a cor-

What prompted Flaminius to conclude a peace with Philip.

^b Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 14. Polyb. lib. xvii. cap. 29. ^c Idem ibid.

(W) It is uncertain whether Livy speaks here of those Gauls who had settled in that part of Asia, which was from them called Galatia, or of another Gallic nation, which was nearer to Greece, and had made a new settlement about the conflux of the Danube and the Save. These new-comers took the name of Scordisci, as Justin

informs us. Strabo (1) places them about Sirmium, between the Danube and Macedon. About fourscore years before the time we are here speaking of, the Gauls had spread terror and desolation in all the countries of Macedon and Greece, not sparing even the famous temple of Delphi.

(1) Strabo, lib. x.

respondence

respondence with Philip; and if these two monarchs had joined their forces, such an alliance might have proved of dangerous consequence to the Roman republic. Besides, Philip, though conquered, and driven out of the field, might have shut himself up in his fortresses, and disputed inch by inch the conquest of his kingdom ^k.

Philip accepts the terms offered by the Romans.

Next day Philip appeared at the congress with an air of submission suitable to his present circumstances; and, without any preamble, declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the Roman senate. After he had uttered these words, there was a deep silence in the assembly, most of those who were present being touched with compassion. But Phœneas, the Ætolian prætor, finding that nobody made him any reply, took the liberty to ask him, whether he was willing to restore to the Ætolians the cities of Larissa, Pharfalos, Thebes in Phthiotis, and Echina? "I do restore them to you," replied Philip. Flaminius was greatly offended at the pretensions of the Ætolians to the city of Thebes; and replied with some warmth, "It belongs to the Romans: I was the man who appeared before it, and to me it surrendered; it is therefore become subject to the Romans." Phœneas insisted, that, according to the terms of the treaty concluded between Ætolia and Rome, it belonged to the former: the dispute grew warm, but, at length, the assembly determined in favour of Flaminius. By these steps the Ætolians began to raise that violent storm, which we shall soon see gather, and discharge itself upon that unhappy nation ^l.

Yr. of Fl.
2152.
Ante Chr.
196.

Peace concluded with Philip.

The king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at Rome: but Flaminius demanded his son Demetrius, with some of the chief lords of his court, for hostages, and also two hundred talents; but upon condition, that both the money and hostages should be restored, if the peace did not take place ^m. Philip complied, and immediately dispatched his ambassadors to Rome, as did also the Ætolians; the former to solicit a peace, and the latter to obstruct it. When they arrived at Rome, the republic had just chosen new consuls, L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Marcellus. The latter, being desirous of having Macedon for his province, and there finishing the war, strenuously opposed the peace, and, being seconded by

^k Idem *ibid.* cap. 15.
ibid.

^l Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 13.

^m Idem

the Ætolians in his opposition, had like to have prevailed in the senate: but, the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimously voted for granting Philip his request^a.

The Ætolians were the only people in Greece dissatisfied with the peace: they had been refused some cities which they claimed, and thought their services ill rewarded by the Romans, who could not have conquered, said they, without our assistance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all Greece, or the assembly of the Amphyctions, by Livy called Pylaicum concilium; and there endeavoured to raise new enemies against Rome: but finding that the free states of Greece were satisfied with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourse to Antiochus king of Syria, to Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon, and even to their sworn enemy, Philip king of Macedon. It was natural for them to suppose, that Macedon and Lacedæmon would readily enter into a league against the Romans, who had lately imposed very hard conditions upon them; and, as for Antiochus, his interest, his honour, the steps he had already taken, and the advice he received from Hannibal, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay passing over into Europe, and declaring war with Rome: nor did they despair to see Carthage join so many confederate nations, and make some efforts to shake off the yoke which Rome had laid on her. All these considerations encouraged the Ætolians, and gave them hopes of seeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They chose for their prætor one Thoas, a man fit for their design, an inveterate enemy to Rome, and a sanguine opposer of the peace lately concluded with the Macedonians. Thoas immediately assembled a general diet at Naupactus, and there infused into the breasts of all the deputies the irreconcilable aversion which he bore to the Romans. A decree passed without opposition, empowering him to send ambassadors to all the princes who were dissatisfied with the Romans, and incline them to war against the common enemy. Pursuant to this decree, Democritus was dispatched to Lacedæmon, Nicander to Macedon, and Dicæarchus to Syria. The first was ordered to make Nabis sensible of the contemptible condition into which they had been brought by the Romans; his state was reduced to a small territory, and Achaia was sole mistress of Peloponnesus:

Ætolians dissatisfied with the peace.

Stir up other nations against the Romans.

Send ambassadors to several princes.

^a Idem ibid.

by yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the advantage which he formerly enjoyed by trading with the neighbouring nations; and, being shut up within the walls of Lacedæmon, he had only the title of king. The second was instructed to tell Philip, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himself from the Roman tyranny: Nicander was likewise ordered to assure him, that the proposals of the Ætolians were not chimerical; that Antiochus was ready to cross into Europe with a mighty fleet, and a numerous army; that the great Hannibal, whose very name struck the Romans with terror, assisted him with his advice; that the Ætolians would join him with all their forces; and that Rome could not possibly resist so many enemies at once. The third ambassador was directed to persuade Antiochus to pass into Greece, and magnify to him the forces of Ætolia; to affirm that the conquests of the Romans in Greece were chiefly owing to the Ætolians; and assure him, that their troops were numerous, and well disciplined; and that their country would furnish his army with provisions, as it afforded safe harbours for his fleets: nay, Dicæarchus was charged to deceive the king of Syria, and tell him, that Philip and Nabis had already signed the confederacy^p.

*Are joined
by Nabis
tyrant of
Lacedæ-
mon.*

*Declare for
Antiochus.*

Philip and Antiochus were not hasty in coming to a determination; but Nabis immediately took up arms, and besieged Gythium, a maritime city, which the Romans had obliged him to give up to the Achæans. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the Roman senate thought it adviseable to send ambassadors into Greece, to defeat the measures of the Ætolians, and maintain those cities steady in their alliance with Rome. At their arrival, they found Ætolia had already declared openly for Antiochus. The ambassador (X), who had been sent to that monarch, was returned, and had brought with him an envoy from the king of Syria to the Ætolian diet. Before the general diet was convened, these two endeavoured to prepossess the minds of the people in favour of Antiochus: nothing was talked of, but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him; they exaggerated beyond

^p Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 12.

(X) Livy had said a little before, that Dicæarchus, the brother of Thoas, then prætor of Ætolia, had been sent ambassador to Antiochus; and here he

tells us that Thoas was sent; wherein he agrees with Appian. Perhaps the prætor went with his brother, to give the greater weight to the embassy.

measure

measure the number of foot, horse, and elephants, that were to come into Ætolia; and, above all, the immense treasures, which the king would distribute among his friends, sufficient to purchase all the lands belonging to the Roman republic. The Ætolians were blinded with these prejudices, when the diet was assembled, to give audience to the king's ambassador. The Roman ambassadors, among whom was Flaminius, highly respected by all the other states of Greece, had regular notice sent them of whatever was transacting in Ætolia; and they suborned some of their chiefs to thwart, as much as possible, the designs of the factious Thœas. Flaminius also engaged the Athenians to send deputies to the assembly of Ætolia, and there to support the interests of his republic. Thœas opened the diet, by acquainting his countrymen, that an ambassador was come from the mighty monarch of Syria, to court their friendship, and propose things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might hear his proposals from his own mouth. Being admitted, he made an harangue well calculated for the present circumstances: he told them, that it would have been happy for Greece, had his master concerned himself in their affairs before Philip was reduced to low; that, if he had joined his forces to those of the Macedonian, Greece would not now groan under the tyrannical oppressions of Rome. "But still your case (said he) is not without remedy; the wound is not incurable. If you put in execution the designs you have formed, I promise you a deliverer in the great Antiochus: he, with your assistance, and that of the gods, will be able to restore Greece to its ancient splendor."

A general diet in Ætolia convened.

Antiochus's ambassador introduced to the diet.

His speech.

The Ætolians were ready to accept the offer, without farther deliberation; but the Athenian ambassador prevailed upon the assembly to hear the Romans, before they should come to any resolution. Accordingly, Flaminius being introduced, desired them to remember their alliance with Rome; and exhorted them rather to carry their complaints to the senate, than fill all Greece and Asia with them. He concluded thus: "Ætolians, are you then determined, out of mere wantonness, to kindle a fire in Greece, which it will not be in your power to extinguish? Will you arm the nations of the East for their mutual destruction? What a dreadful storm are you

Flaminius's speech.

Yr. of Fl.

2156.

Ante Chr.

192.

*The Æto-
lians invite
Antiochus
into Greece.*

*The Æto-
lians form
a design of
seizing
Chalcis,
Demetrias,
and Lacedæ-
mon.*

*Demetrias
taken by
Aratagem.*

bringing upon yourselves! you are the first on whom it will fall." The Ætolians, who had already laid their complaints before the senate, and had been by the senate referred to Flaminius, seeing themselves now referred back by him to the senate, grew outrageous; and, in the presence of the Roman, passed a decree, conceived in the following terms: "Let Antiochus be called into Europa, to restore Greece, which is oppressed by the Romans, to its ancient liberty." Flaminius demanded a copy of the decree; but the prætor refused it, answering, with an haughty air, that he had business of much greater consequence at that time on his hands; but that he would communicate it to him very soon, on the banks of the Tyber, with all the forces of Syria. This was an open declaration of war; in consequence of which, Flaminius returned to Corinth, to watch the enemy's motions, and acquaint the senate with the steps they should take^r.

In the mean time, the privy council of the Ætolians formed a design of seizing on three cities, reckoned the bulwarks of Greece: these were, Chalcis, in Eubœa; Demetrias, in Thessaly; and Lacedæmon, in the centre of Peloponnesus. Three men, of known valour, and ability in war, were charged with the execution of this extraordinary design. Thoas was appointed to take Chalcis, Alexamenus to surprise Lacedæmon, and Diocles to make the attempt upon Demetrias. They all three set out at the same time on their respective expeditions, but were not attended with the like success. Diocles, approaching the city of Demetrias, with a small body of chosen troops, sent a messenger to acquaint the inhabitants, that he was come with a design to attend Eurylochus to his native country, and conduct him with that honour which was due to his rank and merit. Eurylochus had been chief magistrate of Demetrias, and, in that post, disoblinded the Romans, whose partizans had forced him to leave his country, and take sanctuary among the Ætolians. However, the Demetrians, touched with the tears of his wife and children, had consented to recall him; and his return Diocles made use of for the execution of his design, Eurylochus himself being privy to the whole plot. Both Diocles and Eurylochus arrived at the gates of the city with a small body of horse, the rest of the cavalry being ordered to follow at a distance. To prevent giving umbrage to the inhabitants, Diocles ordered his

^r Liv. *ibid*,

troop to dismount, and enter on foot, leading their horses by the bridles. At the gate he left a few horsemen, to be ready to fall on the citizens, if they should offer to shut it when the rest of the cavalry appeared. Thus Diocles was admitted without the least suspicion; but, while he was conducting Eurylochus by the hand to his house, intelligence was brought him, that the whole body of the Ætolian cavalry was arrived, and had got possession of the gate. He then ordered the troop that attended him to remount, and, in that surprize, making himself master of the most important posts in the city, detached several small bodies, with orders to put those to death who were of the Roman party. Thus the Ætolians possessed themselves of one of the most important places of Thessaly.

Of the success that attended their attempt upon Lacedæmon, we have spoken elsewhere.

Thoas failed in his attempt upon Chalcis; the magistrates of that city, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received timely notice of the design, and put the city in a condition to sustain a long siege. The inhabitants of Chalcis, hearing that Thoas had hired a great many transports, in order to carry over troops to their island, sent a messenger to him, desiring to know for what reason he was going to commit hostilities in their territories. The Ætolian answered, that his design was to deliver Eubœa from the Romans, who domineered more insolently over it than the Macedonians had ever done. But the inhabitants replied, that they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any avenger or deliverer from the Romans, since they feared no danger, nor apprehended any injury, from them. This declaration disconcerted the measures of the Ætolian, who had placed all hopes of success in a sudden attack. Wherefore, finding that proper preparations were made for his reception, he retired, much dissatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city, the possession of which would have made him master of the whole island, and opened a way for Antiochus into Attica.

Ætolians fail in their attempt upon Chalcis.

Flaminius, who then resided at Corinth, being informed that the Ætolians had made themselves masters of Demetrias in Thessaly, undertook to recover it to the Roman party. He first wrote to Eunomus, prætor of Thessaly, desiring him to arm all the young men of the country; then he charged Villius to go to Demetrias, and

The Romans attempt to bring the Demetrians back to their alliance.

* Liv. *ibid.* cap. 35.

† Liv. *ibid.* cap. 33.

inform himself upon the spot of the disposition of the inhabitants. Accordingly Villius embarked in a quinqueremis, and came in sight of Demetrias. The report of his arrival raised a great commotion among the inhabitants, who ran in crowds to the port to see him; but the Roman, without any concern at seeing crowds about him, addressed Eurylochus, the chief magistrate, in this manner: "Can the Romans reckon the people of Demetrias among their allies, or not? Am I received here as a friend, or not?" The magistrate answered, that his fellow-citizens were attached to Rome; but, at the same time, he let him know, that his presence might disturb the repose of a city, that was jealous of its liberty; which was in effect telling him, in a gentle manner, that he would not admit him into Demetrias. Indeed, Eurylochus had already declared for Antiochus; and the inhabitants, seduced by his counsels, had just then concluded a league with the Ætolians against Rome. Villius understood, by Eurylochus's discourse, that he could not, without danger, appear among the people; and the interview ended with severe reproaches on both sides: the Roman upbraided the Demetrians with ingratitude, since they owed their liberty to Rome; and the Demetrians reproached the Romans with injustice, haughtiness, and ambition. Villius, therefore, was obliged to put to sea again; but, before he re-embarked, turning to the multitude, that were pursuing him with great noise and menaces, "I plainly see, said he, the storm that will fall upon your heads; your misfortunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none who provoke the Romans escape with impunity." Flaminius, upon the return of Villius, and his report, laid aside all thoughts of bringing the Demetrians back to their old alliance.^u

Thoas dissuades Antiochus from sending Hannibal into Italy.

On the other hand Thoas, having failed in his attempt upon Chalcis, went directly to Antiochus, and pressed him to delay no longer his setting out for Greece. At the same time he dissuaded him from sending Hannibal with an army into Italy, insinuating that the Carthaginian would assume to himself all the glory of such an enterprise. As this advice fell in with the Syrian's suspicious and jealous temper, he entirely dropped the design, to which he was before well inclined. And now it being resolved that Greece should be the only seat of war, the king pitched upon Demetrias for the place where he should

^u Liv. *ibid.* cap. 39.

land. Having, therefore, got every thing ready for his departure, he embarked with an army, consisting only of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants. Such a small body of men was not suitable to the majesty of so great a king, nor answered the expectations of his Greek allies; but these were all the troops he had ready: Polyxenidas, indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into Asia, to draw together the rest of his forces, and lead them into Europe. The king landed at Pteleum in Phthiotis, and from thence marched to Demetrias. Here the chiefs of the Ætolian nation waited upon Antiochus, and invited him to Lamia, one of their cities, where a general assembly was convened for his reception. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave Asia before he had made the necessary preparations for such an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be fully answered next spring; and that, as soon as the seas were passable, they should see all Greece covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with these words: "I will spare neither fatigues nor expences: I will expose my person to the greatest dangers to re-establish you in the full enjoyment of your liberties. Rome has enslaved you, but Syria offers you a deliverer: let us then share the trouble between us; do you furnish provisions, I will find men and arms *."

Yr. of Pl.
2156.
Ante Chr.
192.

*Antiochus
arrives in
Greece.*

*His speech
to the gene-
ral assem-
bly.*

*Declared
generalis-
simo of all
Greek ar-
mies.*

This speech was received with great applause; and, when the king had withdrawn, it was debated in the assembly what title they should give him, and in what character he should act in Ætolia. The most judicious saw plainly, that Antiochus, instead of a real and present assistance, gave them little more than hopes and promises; and, therefore, were for having him act only as a mediator between Rome and Ætolia. But this counsel being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of Thoas prevailed, that the king should be honoured with the title of generalissimo, or commander in chief of all the Greek armies against Rome. Then a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourse on all occasions. The first step he took, by their advice, was to enter into a negotiation with Chalcis, a city famous for its affection to the Romans. In a conference held

* Liv. *ibid.* cap. 42—44.

*Strives to
gain over
the city of
Chalcis.*

between the Ætolians and Chalcidians, at Salganea, the former used their utmost efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with Antiochus, but without renouncing the friendship of the Romans: they declared, that the king of Syria was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but to deliver it from slavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of Greece than to live in amity both with Antiochus and the Romans, since the one would, by these means, be a check on the other; that, if they rejected the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the Romans, on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates *.

*Prudent
conduct of
the Chal-
cidians.*

Mistio, one of the chief men of Chalcis, replied, that he could not imagine what people Antiochus was come to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and crossed over into Greece: that, as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, since they were free; nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of Rome; that they did not refuse the friendship of Antiochus and the Ætolians; but if these last would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship, was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into the city, nor make any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the Romans †.

*The Æto-
lians invite
several
States to
join them.
Promises
made by the
Syrian am-
bassador.*

This answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it advisable to return to Demetrias, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not pleased with his Ætolian counsellors, seeing the first step they had persuaded him to take proved inglorious. But Thoas appealed him with hopes of gaining Amynder, king of the Athamanes, with the Boeotians and Achæans, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Romans. Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and ambassadors dispatched to these three powers. The Achæan diet, which was held at Ægium, gave audience to the ambassadors of the Ætolians and Antiochus, in the presence of Flaminius. The Syrian ambassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irresistible power of his master; he declared, with an emphatical tone of voice, that an incredible number of horsemen were crossing the Hellespont, consisting partly

* Liv. *ibid.* cap. 36.

† Idem *ibid.* cap. 47.

of cuirassiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bowmen, who discharged their arrows with as much skill and dexterity when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy : to their cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of Europe, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Cadusii, &c. names never before heard in Greece, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible : with regard to the fleet, he assured them, that it would overspread all the coasts, and fill all the ports of Greece : concerning money, it was, he said, needless to mention the immense sums which Antiochus possessed, since they knew that the kingdom of Asia had always abounded with gold. In the close of this speech he addressed the Achæans, telling them, that though his master was come from the most remote parts of the East, purely to restore Greece to its freedom, yet he did not require that the Achæans should take up arms against Rome, but only desired them to stand neuter, and treat both parties as friends ; assuring them, that their neutrality should screen them and their country from the many calamities that threatened Greece^a.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect, advising the Achæans to sit quietly as spectators of a war, which must bring utter destruction upon Rome. Then, growing insensibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and Flaminius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the valour of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the safety of the army : " For what great exploits (continued he) has Flaminius performed during this war ? His whole time has been spent in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an augur or a priest, while I exposed myself to the enemy's darts for his sake." Flaminius heard all these reproaches with patience ; and then replied with pleasantry thus : " Attempts have now been made, Achæans, to terrify you with an enumeration of those nations of Asia which are to pour in, like a torrent, upon Greece. This effort reminds me of an entertainment, which was made by a friend of mine in Chalcis, who is a man of humour, and treats his guests very elegantly. He invited me to a banquet at a time of the year when venison was very scarce ;

Speech of Archidamus, the Ætolian, before the Achæan diet.

Speech of Flaminius.

^a Liv. *ibid.* cap. 48.

and yet there seemed to be a great plenty of it served up at his table. I was surprised; but my friend, smiling, told me, that what I took for venison was nothing but hog's flesh, disguised several ways, and seasoned with different sauces. The same may be said of this mighty king's troops, which have been so pompously extolled and magnified. The Dahæ, the Medes, the Cadusii, the Elymæans, names indeed that are not heard every day in Greece, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves. Whatever disguises may be used, they are all but one sort of men: let the sauce be what it will, the meat is the same. And, as for the Ætolians, they are brave only in words: they may amuse the king of Syria with vain discourses; but both you, Achæans, and I, are better acquainted with their character than to be imposed upon. As for their mighty monarch, what a poor figure is he come to make in these parts! his whole army is not equal to two of our smallest legions. And where are the riches which he promises you? He has been obliged, at his first arrival, to beg of the Ætolian diet provisions and money. From thence he rambled to Chalcis; which he was obliged to leave with ignominy. The Ætolians have very injudiciously given credit to Antiochus; and Antiochus shewed as little judgment in believing the Ætolians. These circumstances ought to teach you not to be imposed upon, but to put all your confidence in the Romans, the effects of whose friendship you have so often experienced. When they demand a neutrality, they invite you to become a prey to both parties, and to suffer all the evils of war without sharing the advantages of victory."

The Achæans declare for the Romans.

The Boeotians remain neuter.

The Achæans, without hesitation, declared for the Romans, and resolved to make war upon Antiochus and the Ætolians. They immediately sent five hundred men to reinforce the garrison of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens; which began to waver. Antiochus, and the Ætolians, received no greater satisfaction from the Boeotians, who told their ambassadors, that they would come to no resolution till Antiochus's army was on the frontiers of Boeotia *.

The king of Syria, having thus solicited in vain, either by his ambassadors, or in person, most of the Greek states to join in alliance with him, retired at last to Demetrias, where he held a council of war on the operations of the ensuing campaign. Hannibal, who was invited to it,

* Liv. lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.

with all the chief commanders of the army, being asked his opinion first, advised the king, before he undertook any thing else, to use his utmost endeavours to gain over Philip of Macedon; which, he said, was so important a step, that could they but succeed in it, they might, without much difficulty, become masters of all Greece. But, if Philip should refuse to take up arms against Rome, in that case he was of opinion, that the king should send his son Seleucus, at the head of an army, into Macedon, and by that diversion prevent him from lending any assistance to the Romans. He insisted on a still more important point, and maintained, as he had always done, that the only way to defeat the Romans, was to send an army into Italy^b.

*Hannibal's
advice to
Antiochus.*

The council could not but approve of what Hannibal said; but, at the same time, the Ætolians diverted the king from following his opinion, pretending, that if he pursued the Carthaginian's plan, all the glory would be ascribed to him; and that since Antiochus had already taken another course, and was in Greece, it would be highly disreputable to alter his measures. In the council it was resolved, that the king should again attempt to win over Chalcis; and accordingly he set out for that place. On his march he detached Menippus, one of his generals, with three thousand men, to intercept a body of five hundred Romans, which Flaminius had sent under the command of Mictio, the Calcidian, to reinforce the garrison of Chalcis. Menippus came upon them unexpectedly, while they were amusing themselves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated to Apollo, in the neighbourhood of Tanagra (Y). Neither the sanctity of the place, which enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, nor the friendship that still subsisted between Antiochus and the republic (war not being yet declared), protected them from the fury of the Syrians: they were attacked in the very temple and grove of Apollo, most of them put to

*Antiochus
diverted by
the Æto-
lians from
following
the advice
of Han-
nibal.*

*The Syrians
fall upon a
party of
Romans, in
the temple
and grove
of Apollo.*

^b Idem ibid. cap. 4. Justin. lib. xxxi. cap. 5, 6. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93, 94.

(Y) Tanagra, a city of Boeotia, on the banks of the Asopus, five miles distant from the Euripus, is now called Anatoria. The temple dedicated to Apollo, and called Delium, was built on the coast of Boeotia, between the city of Aulis, and the mouth of the Asopus, about five miles from Tanagra (1).

(1) Strabo, lib. ix.

the sword, and fifty taken prisoners; a few escaped with their leader Mictio, who, in a small boat, reached Chalcis in safety. This was the first time Antiochus drew his sword in these parts; but, by shedding Roman blood, he made himself the aggressor, and gave Rome a right to declare him an enemy. The Syrian, flushed with this small advantage, became more bold and enterprising; he advanced, at the head of six thousand men, to the Euripus, where he had ordered his fleet to attend, and appeared the second time before Chalcis. This city was rent into factions; and now the Ætolian party prevailing, Mictio and Xenolcides, with such other citizens as persisted in their attachment to the Romans, were commanded to depart; and the city opened her gates to Antiochus. The example of the capital was followed by the whole island, and all Eubœa submitted to the Syrian, who, from that time, made Chalcis the place of his residence. He spent the winter there, sending deputies to all the free states of Greece, to court their friendship. His power began now to be formidable; wherefore the Eleans, the Epirots, the Bœotians, and the Athamanes, readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with Rome. The Athamanes were prevailed upon to join him by Philip, the regent of Athamania, who was a pretender to the crown of Macedon^c.

*Antiochus
admitted
into
Chalcis.*

*Several
states join
him.*

*An impo-
litic step
taken by
Antiochus.*

And now the time of taking the field drawing near, Antiochus advanced to Larissa, and summoned his allies to send their troops to the neighbourhood of Pheræ, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival of the confederate troops, he took a very impolitic step in going with the regent of Athamania, to the plains of Cynocephalæ, where the Macedonians, who had been killed when Philip was overcome, lay still unburied. He thought that the pretended king of Macedon, by procuring their obsequies to be performed, might gain the affections of the Macedonians. But this circumstance served only to exasperate the true king of Macedon, who immediately gave the Romans notice of the progress Antiochus was making in Greece^d.

*Takes
Pheræ.*

The king of Syria, being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to resist him, laid siege to Pheræ, which, after a vigorous resistance, was forced to surrender. From Pheræ he advanced to Larissa; and, while he was deliberating whether he should lay siege to

^c Liv. *ibid.* cap. 5. Polyb. Legat. 12.

^d Liv. & Polyb. *ibid.*

it, or not, he received advice, that a body of Romans was arrived at Gonni, a city about twenty miles from his camp. Claudius, who commanded this small detachment, in order to deceive Antiochus, occupied a much larger space of ground than was necessary for so small a number of troops, and kindled so many fires, that Antiochus, believing a numerous army of Romans was ready to fall upon him, decamped with precipitation, and returned to Chalcis, which city proved as fatal to him as Capua had been to Hannibal; for there, though he was advanced in years, he suffered himself to be shamefully captivated by the charms of a fair Chalcidian. She was a virtuous young woman, the daughter of one of the chief citizens of Chalcis, named Cleoptolemus, in whose house the king lodged. Antiochus was obliged to disclose his passion, not to her only, but likewise to her father, and desire his consent to marry her. The disproportion of her age and condition made Cleoptolemus fear, that his daughter would soon repent of her advancement to so high a station; and therefore he was very unwilling to grant the king his request. But Antiochus, to the passion of a lover joined the authority of a sovereign; and then the father was obliged to acquiesce: the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence, and all the security of the most peaceable times. The king was so much pleased with his young queen, that he seemed to forget Rome, Greece, and Syria. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the least. His unseasonable love was become a standing topic of raillery in all conversations; his allies made loud complaints; the soldiery, being kept in a state of inaction, began to mutiny, and the Ætolians themselves to express great uneasiness. But the king, insensible to every thing but his passion, spent the rest of the winter in feasting and rejoicings; while the bad example of the court infected the officers, and even the common soldiers of the Syrian army: discipline was neglected, and his army. their bodies were weakened; and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.

*Chalcis
proves fa-
tal to An-
tiochus.*

*and his
army.*

While Antiochus was thus lost in pleasures at Chalcis, Rome kept a watchful eye over him. One hundred quin-

* Liv. *ibid.* Appian. cap. 96—98. Polyb. lib. x. apud Athenæum, lib. x. cap. 12. Diod. Sic. & Dio. in Excerpt. Valefii, p. 296, & 609.

Yr. of Fl.
2157.
Ante Chr.
191.

*War declared at
Rome against Antiochus.*

*The progress of the
Romans rouses
Antiochus.*

*Antiochus
seizes
Thermopyla.*

queremes were fitted out to scour the eastern seas ; and, after the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops that were to serve this year, war was formally declared against Antiochus. Then the new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and A. Acilius Glabrio, drew lots for their provinces ; and Greece fell to the latter, who set out in the beginning of May for Brundisium, whence he set sail for Greece, and, crossing the Ionian sea, landed his forces, without the least opposition, to the number of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to Bæbius, who was encamped near Pellinæa, in Thessaly, and with his cavalry he marched to Limnæa, another city of Thessaly, which the king of Macedon was besieging. Both these places surrendered to the consul at discretion, and in Pellinæa was taken Philip, the pretender to the crown of Macedon. The king, in derision, called him brother, ordered him to be saluted king, and conducted him to the consul, who put him in irons, and sent him to Rome. Then the Romans and Macedonians separated, to spread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made himself master of all Athamania, Amynder having retired, with his wife and children, into Epirus ; and the consul soon reduced all Thessaly. This surprising progress of the Romans roused at last Antiochus from his lethargy. He loved his new wife Eubia to adoration ; but his reason pointing out to him the shameful figure a man of his years and character must make, in being thus taken up with youthful pleasures, he at last got the better of his passion ; and determined to leave Chalcis, and draw nearer to Ætolia. This design obliged him to assemble all the troops he had dispersed over Greece, and join them in one army. All the Syrian troops amounted to no more than ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. With these he advanced to the confines of Ætolia, in hopes of powerful succours from thence : but he was disappointed ; for the Ætolian chiefs could not raise above four thousand men, who were for the most part their own clients and vassals. Antiochus was then sensible, that he had been imposed upon by Thoas ; but, notwithstanding this disappointment, he pursued his measures. He knew that the Roman army had passed the Sperchius, and was ravaging Phthiotis. To prevent, therefore, their entering Achaia by way of Locris, and, at the same time, to secure himself against the attacks of the enemy, he seized the famous pass of Thermopyla.

The

The king strengthened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts; and, as he was not ignorant, that Xerxes would not have been able to force the Lacedæmonians, if he had not ordered some of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence rush down upon the enemy, he detached two thousand Ætolians, to seize the summits of Mount Cæta, which were nearest his camp ^f.

The Roman general was informed of the prudent precautions which Antiochus had taken, and was under no small concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy from passes where scarce ten armed men could march abreast, was a dangerous attempt: to follow the example of Xerxes, and climb over the mountains, was impracticable, the summit being guarded by two thousand Ætolians. In this perplexity he had recourse to the famous Cato, who, being tired with the wranglings of the bar, had roused his martial spirit, and now served in the troops in no higher a station than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior extricated the consul from his difficulties, by offering to dislodge the Ætolians from their advantageous post. As this enterprize was of no less difficulty than importance, the consul thought proper to join L. Valerius, one of his lieutenants, with Cato, in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march against that body of Ætolians which was encamped on the summit called Tichius, and the latter against those who possessed the other, named Callidromus. Valerius was repulsed by the Ætolians, and forced to retire; but Cato, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues and dangers, at last reached the top of the mountain, and charged the Ætolians with such resolution, that he obliged them to abandon their post, and fly for refuge to the valley. In the mean time the main body of the army was warmly engaged with Antiochus; but could not, with all their valour, force the Syrian's entrenchment. Acilius did wonders; but great numbers of his men being either killed or wounded, the rest began to be disheartened, when the consul, suddenly perceived Cato half way down the hill, and the Ætolians flying before him. This sight inspired the Romans with new vigour, and struck no small terror into the Syrians, who had behaved, during the action, with incredible valour, and still

*but is dis-
lodged, and
defeated.*

^f Liv. *ibid.* cap. 15. Plut. in Cat. Maj. Frontin. *Stratag.* lib. ii. cap. 4. Appian. in *Syriacis*, cap. 96.

maintained

maintained their ground, till Cato, attacking the camp in its weakest part, put an end to the dispute. The king, having received a blow on the mouth with a stone, turned his horse, and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every one shifting for himself, and leaving the passes open for the Romans, who did not pursue them, being employed in plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty ^z.

*Antiochus
flies to
Chalcis.*

Next day, early in the morning, the consul marched to Elatia, whither Antiochus had first retired. But before the arrival of the Romans, the king was fled from thence, and had reached Chalcis, with five hundred horse. The infantry, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were overtaken by the Roman cavalry, and cut in pieces; so that Antiochus may be said to have lost his whole army in the action of Thermopylæ, and in the pursuit. The consul continued his march through Bœotia to the Euripus, with a design to drive Antiochus from Chalcis, and recover the island of Eubœa. The Bœotians had declared for Antiochus; therefore, being seized with terror at the sight of the consular army, they appeared before Acilius in the attire of suppliants; and the consul spared both their lives and lands, not suffering his soldiers to commit any hostilities, except at Coromæa, where, by a public edict of the Bœotian diet, a statue had been erected to Antiochus. At this fight the legionaries were so provoked, that Acilius could not restrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waste. When the consular army appeared before Chalcis, Antiochus embarked with his new queen, set sail for Asia, and retired to Ephefus. Upon his departure, Chalcis opened her gates to the Romans, and all Eubœa followed the example of the capital. Acilius then returned to Thermopylæ, and from thence continued his march to Heraclea (Z), which two thousand Ætolians still kept for Antiochus ^h.

*Antiochus
leaves
Chalcis.*

*Chalcis,
and all
Eubœa,
submit to
the Ro-
mans.*

*The Ro-
mans lay
siege to
Heraclea;*

Before the consul besieged the city in form, he summoned the garrison, and the inhabitants, to surrender; representing, that they could expect no relief from a fu-

^z Liv. *ibid.* cap. 19.

^h *Ibid.* cap. 20.

(Z) This city, called Heraclea Trachynia, stood between the gulph of Zeiton, about forty furlongs distance from Thermopylæ (1).

(1) Strabo, lib. ix. Thucyd. lib. iii.

gitive king; that all Greece had a-new declared for Rome; that it was not too late to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans; and that he would look upon their delivering up the city as an unquestionable proof of a sincere repentance. Damocritus, who had told Flaminius, that he would give him on the banks of the Tyber a copy of the decree inviting Antiochus into Greece, was governor of the place; and, by his means, the Ætolians, as well as the inhabitants, resolved to hold out to the last. The consul therefore was obliged to have recourse to force, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he made himself master of the place. Heraclea was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul, having invested the city on all sides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which discharged showers of darts and stones on the besieged. The Ætolians on the other hand, maintained their posts with inexpressible courage, harassed the Romans with frequent sallies, set fire to their engines, and, by letting down iron hooks, and other contrivances, from the wall, rendered their battering-rams quite useless. The besiegers no sooner opened a breach, by undermining the wall, than the besieged made vigorous sallies, keeping the Romans employed till their companions within repaired the damage. Thus they held out forty days against the incessant attacks of the whole consular army. The great number of the besiegers lessened their fatigues; but the besieged were employed night and day, the whole garrison being scarce sufficient for the constant defence of the place.

which makes a long and vigorous defence;

The consul, being sensible that the Ætolians could hardly be overcome merely with fatigues and watchings, changed the mode of his operations, with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a stop to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morning. The Ætolians, being persuaded that the Romans were as much exhausted as themselves, retired at the same time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreshed themselves with some hours of rest. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul, on a sudden, ordered Sempronius to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noise would draw all the garrison thither. Accordingly, the Ætolians, being waked, hastened to the castle; and the Romans, at the same time, assaulted, with great vigour, the town; but were repulsed by the Ætolians in

but is taken by stratagem,

in three successive attacks. Acilius had ordered his legionaries to attack the town on all sides, except that which joined the suburbs. There he had placed a strong detachment among the ruins of the demolished houses, with orders not to stir till they heard the signal. He imagined, that the besieged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And so it happened: the besiegers left this place quite undefended; which the consul perceiving, gave the signal, and the legionaries mounted the wall without any opposition. The besieged, hearing a shout on the rampart, believed the city was taken, and fled with great precipitation to the citadel. Acilius suffered the city to be plundered, not so much out of a spirit of revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the consul marched against the citadel, which, as it was not sufficiently stocked with provisions to maintain such a number of men, women, and children, as had fled thither for refuge, soon surrendered at discretion. The Ætolians threw themselves upon the clemency of the Romans; and, by way of preliminary, delivered up, into the consul's hands, their leader Damocritus, who probably was sent to Rome, with the other captives of the conquered nations¹.

and pillaged.

Lamia besieged by the Macedonians.

From Heraclea the consul marched to Lamia, a strong place, situated on a rock about seven miles distant. The troops of king Philip had begun the siege at the same time that the Romans had invested Heraclea. As the two cities were near each other, and Lamia stood on an eminence, the Macedonians and Romans could discover each from their own camp, what progress was made in the other. Hence arose an emulation between the two armies, which should first finish the enterprize. The works were carried on by both with the utmost vigour; but as the Macedonians could not, according to their custom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the Romans took Heraclea before the Macedonians had made any considerable progress in the siege of Lamia. Philip, indeed, did not at first assist in person, being prevented by an indisposition; but he no sooner recovered, than he went to pay a visit to Acilius, who was then encamped at Thermopylæ, and congratulated him on his

Submits to the Romans.

¹ Liv. *ibid.* cap. 25.

victory.

victory. From the consul's camp Philip hastened to Lamia, to pursue the siege; but he had not the satisfaction of taking the place, the Lamians chusing rather to submit to the Romans, in hopes of recovering their liberty, than to receive the Macedonian yoke^k.

Before Heraclea and Lamia were besieged, the Ætolians had sent an embassy to Antiochus, then at Ephesus. Thoas, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, pursuant to his instructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into Europe. He represented, that, if the war was not carried on with vigour in Greece, he would soon see the Romans in the centre of his dominions. What he said was not ill founded; and therefore determined Antiochus to send immediately into Ætolia considerable sums, and give orders for assembling his forces. Thoas he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an opportunity of pressing the king to fulfil his promises. Thus the Ætolians were wholly bent upon renewing the war, before the loss of the two above mentioned cities; but the reduction of these abated their ardour; and now nothing was talked of in their assemblies, but peace. They sent ambassadors to the consul, to make proposals; but he received them with the air of a conqueror: "I have other business on my hands," (said he), ~~than to hear you. Go back to your diet at Hypata, whither I will send Valerius Flaccus to treat with you: make your proposals to him; and, in the mean time, I grant you a ten days truce!~~"

The Ætolians sue for a peace.

Valerius and the ambassadors set out together for Hypata; where the general assembly was held. The diet shewed him extraordinary honour; held their sessions at his house; and, to manifest that they reposed an entire confidence in him, desired him to instruct them in what manner they should treat with the senate. "Our alliance," (said they), with the republic is very ancient. By how many good offices have we shewn our attachment to Rome?" Here Valerius stopped them; and desired they would not mention an alliance, which they had so often broken: "An humble submission," (said he), will have more effect on the consul and senate, than a vain ostentation of your services." The diet seemed to pay a great regard to the wholesome advice of Valerius; and their deputies, putting on an air of humiliation, presented themselves before the consul. Phœneas, their speaker, address-

^k Liv. *ibid.* cap. 26.

^l *Idem ibid.* cap. 27.

*Are treated
with great
haughtiness
by the Ro-
man consul,*

ing the consul in a mournful tone, began his speech, by telling him, that all Ætolia, repenting of her late conduct, threw herself on the honour and clemency of the Romans. The consul, without suffering him to pursue his harangue, immediately replied, "You say, Ætolia surrenders herself to the Romans: if so, deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of your revolt: put into my hands Menetes the Epirot, Amynder king of Athamania, and such of the Athamanians as have revolted from us, and taken sanctuary in Ætolia." While he was yet speaking, Phæneas, interrupting him, answered with a quite different air and tone of voice, "You demand more than we promised: we threw ourselves upon your honour; but we did not deliver ourselves up to slavery. What you require is neither consistent with the honour of the Ætolian nation, nor with the laws and customs of Greece." "What is that to me, (replied Acilius haughtily), whether my demands are agreeable to your customs and laws, or not? They are agreeable to the will of the Romans, and that is enough." Phæneas was offering to speak, when the consul rising up, "What! (said he), do you refuse to obey my orders, and plead your customs and laws with me?" Then, turning to the licitors, he ordered them to bring in iron chains and collars; and threatened to put the ambassadors in irons that instant, and treat them like rebels and traitors, unless they promised to perform what he required. The sight of the chains, and the threats of the angry consul, so terrified them, that neither Phæneas nor his colleagues durst utter one word. Valerius, taking their part, desired the consul to remember, that they were ambassadors, and consequently ought not to be treated with all the severity which their insincerity might perhaps deserve. This interposition encouraged Phæneas to represent to the consul, in terms of great submission, that neither he, nor the council of the apocleti, who had sent him, could obey his orders, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the whole nation: he therefore entreated him to grant them a farther truce for ten days, during which time he promised to bring him a positive answer. Acilius heard him now with patience, and granted the suspension of arms he required^m.

*who grants
them a ten
day's truce.*

Upon the return of the ambassadors, and the report which they made of the severe treatment they had met with,

^m Liv. *ibid.* cap. 28.

a general assembly was convened, to which all the cities of Ætolia sent their deputies. These were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries proposed by the Romans, and all cried out, "We are then reduced to slavery. Is the king of Athamania our subject? Can we dispose of him as we please, and deliver him up to the Romans?" Warm debates arose, and the members of the council could neither agree with the prætor, nor among themselves. On one side, the Romans were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities. On the other, Antiochus was a wealthy prince, powerful by sea and land, and a declared enemy to the Romans. While they were in this uncertainty, a particular circumstance determined them to chuse the worst part.

The preliminaries occasion great divisions in the Ætolian diet.

One Nicander, an active, bustling incendiary, had gone from Ætolia to Ephesus, where Antiochus resided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large sums of money with him from the king of Syria; and assured the diet, that, early in the spring, all the forces of Syria would be sent to their assistance. He added, that the king of Macedon was highly dissatisfied with the Romans, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he said, with regard to Philip, had the appearance of truth; and therefore was of great weight with the assembly. Nicander, on his return to Greece, had been obliged to pass between the Roman and Macedonian camps; and, keeping as far as he could from the Romans, fell upon an advanced guard of the Macedonians, by whom he was taken, and carried to the king. The prisoner expected no good treatment from Philip, and was under no small apprehension of being delivered to the Romans; but, contrary to his expectation, he was received by the Macedonian in a very friendly manner, and even invited to sup with him. After the repast, the king ordered the rest of the company to withdraw; and then addressed Nicander thus: "You are not in the power of an enemy, but of a friend; and therefore divest yourself of all fear. Are you not at last sensible, that the Ætolians, your countrymen, are the authors of all our misfortunes? They first brought the Romans into Greece, and assisted them in the reduction of my dominions: then they grew weary of their new masters, and drew Antiochus into these parts. However, I forget all that is past, and will not insult you in your misery. Only let the diet at Hypata know, that it is high time for them to lay aside their hatred

The Ætolians persuaded by Nicander to pursue the war.

tred to me. As for you, Nicander, remember that I now give you your life, and be grateful ^a." Accordingly, Nicander acquainted the diet with the kind reception he had met with in Philip's camp; and the Ætolians inferred from thence, that the king might be easily drawn off from the Romans. This persuasion, with the money which Nicander brought from Asia, and the reports which he spread, that Antiochus was ready to pass into Europe, at the head of a powerful army, made such impressions on the assembly, that all thoughts of peace vanished; and nothing was now talked of but war. They resolved to draw all their forces to Naupactus, and preserve, at all events, that important city against the return of Antiochus ^o.

Acilius resolves to make himself master of Naupactus.

Acilius, on the other hand, looked on the taking of Naupactus as the most fatal blow he could give the Ætolian nation, and therefore resolved to attempt it. In the first place, he sent four thousand men, under the command of Appius Claudius, to guard the roads through which the army was to pass. The consul did not begin his march, till he had implored the assistance of the gods, by offering a solemn sacrifice to Hercules, on the top of Mount Ceta, where Hercules is said to have ended his life and his labours ^p. Having thus consecrated his departure by an act of religion, he set out at the head of his army, and met with no difficulties in his march, till he came to Corax, the highest mountain of Ætolia; which he was obliged to cross, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a numerous army. There great numbers of beasts of burden, and many of the soldiers, were lost in the precipices. Not a single Ætolian appeared to dispute this dangerous passage with the consul, which might have been defended by a handful of men against a numerous army. At length the Romans arrived, greatly fatigued, at Naupactus; which the consul immediately invested: but, as the Ætolians defended themselves with incredible vigour and courage, the whole consular army was employed here most part of the summer; while Philip and the Achæans reduced entire provinces. The former not only made himself master of Demetrias, but extended his conquests to Dolopia, Aperantia, and Perrhocbia; and thus, by degrees, recovered all the places that had been taken from him ^q.

Passes the heights without opposition, and invests it.

Philip recovers the places the Ætolians had taken.

^a Liv. *ibid.* cap. 28. Polyb. Legat. 13.

cap. 30. ^p Idem *ibid.* Appian. in Syriac. 99.

lib. xxxvi. cap. 32.

^o Liv. *ibid.*

^q Liv.

But Flaminius, who resided at Chalcis (A), not being pleased with the progress which the consul suffered Philip to make, contrary to the interest of Rome, hastened to Naupactus, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to great straits. On his arrival in the camp, he was received by the consul, whom he abruptly addressed thus: "Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the affairs of the republic?" Acilius surprised at these words, desired him to explain his meaning: and then Flaminius told him, that, ever since his victory at Thermopylæ, he had spent his whole time in taking two cities; while Philip, not contented with taking cities, had reduced whole nations. "You are endeavouring (continued Flaminius) to lessen the power of Ætolia; and, at the same time, suffer a far more dangerous enemy to encrease his beyond measure. Consider better the true interest of Rome; raise this troublesome siege, leave Naupactus, and deliver Greece from impending ruin."

*Flaminius's
advice to
the consul.*

As the authority of Flaminius was great at Rome, and his reasonings very just, Acilius was unwilling to disoblige him; but, on the other hand, he considered, that the raising the siege of a town, which had already held out two months, might reflect no small dishonour on his conduct; he therefore was some time in suspense, whether he should follow the advice of Flaminius, or, contrary to his opinion, pursue the siege: but at length he yielded, Flaminius taking upon himself to justify his behaviour to

* Liv. *ibid.* & Plut. in *Flamin.*

(A) Flaminius, after having conquered Philip, and settled the affairs of Greece, was long kept in that country by his republic, on account of his great skill and address in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheless was more respected than the consuls themselves. When any differences arose, the contending parties generally had recourse to Flaminius, referring the whole to his arbitration. He had chosen Chalcis for the usual place of his residence. That city owed its

safety to him; for Acilius, when it surrendered after the departure of Antiochus, was resolved to give it up to be plundered; but Flaminius had interest enough with the consul to appease his wrath, and save both the lives and estates of the inhabitants. From that time the Chalcidians carried their gratitude to excess; they built a temple, and instituted a festival in his honour, putting him upon the same level with Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules (1).

(1) Plut. in *Flamin.*

the senate, and to persuade the Ætolians to make some kind of submission. Accordingly, he immediately shewed himself to the besieged; who, running in crowds to the ramparts, implored his assistance with mournful cries. Flaminius, at first, seemed not to give ear to their entreaties; but, as they redoubled their cries, beseeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compassion upon an unfortunate people, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to understand, that they might send deputies to confer with him. Thus encouraged, Phæneas, and the chief men of the nation, came out, and threw themselves prostrate at his feet. Flaminius seeing them in this humble posture, "I will not insult you (said he) in this condition, nor aggravate your sorrow with unseasonable reproaches. Your misfortunes are indeed affecting; but I forewarned you of them; and you have the farther mortification to know, that you have, by your imprudent conduct, brought them upon yourselves: but, as I am appointed by the gods to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall not get the better of my propensity to mercy. Go, throw yourselves at the consul's feet, and beg a suspension of arms, in order to send ambassadors to Rome, to negotiate peace: I will intercede with the consul in your behalf." They followed the advice of Flaminius: ambassadors were sent to the Roman senate; and Acilius, breaking up the siege, marched his army back into Phocis¹.

*Acilius
raises the
siege of
Naupactus.*

Acilius, being disengaged from this troublesome siege, made the best use he could of the short time he was to stay in Greece: he gave audience to the ambassadors of the Epirots, who came to excuse the steps they had taken with regard to Antiochus. They had not indeed sent any troops to his assistance; but were suspected to have supplied him with money and provisions. The consul told them, that he was in doubt whether he should call them friends or enemies; but that the senate of Rome knew how to explain their mysterious and artful conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, enjoining them to clear themselves before the senate. At Rome they were received very coldly; but, as it did not appear that they had committed any hostilities, the senators chose rather to shew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the republic².

*The Epi-
rots obtain
a three
months
truce.*

*Ætolian
ambassa-
dors at
Rome.*

As for the Ætolian ambassadors, the truce, which had been granted them, was near expiring, before they could

¹ Liv. *ibid.* cap. 35.

² Liv. *ibid.* cap. 36.

obtain

obtain an audience of the senate. They were, however, admitted at last, and endeavoured to excite compassion; they gave a long, but modest, account of the services they had rendered the republic during their alliance with her; and begged, that, in consideration of them, the conscript fathers would forgive their late conduct. Many questions were put to them; but the senators observed, that, instead of giving any positive and direct answer, they had recourse to supplications and entreaties. These evasions brought their sincerity into question. They were ordered to withdraw; and warm debates arose among the fathers, some being for granting them a peace, and others for pursuing the war. Some days were spent in these disputes; and, as the ambassadors artfully declined giving satisfactory answers, the senate long continued in suspense between peace and war. At last the ambassadors were told, that they must chuse one of these two conditions; either to submit to the will of the senate, or to pay the republic a thousand talents, and neither make war, nor peace, with any other power, without the consent and approbation of Rome. The Ætolians had not so much money; and, on the other hand, should they implicitly submit to the will of the senate, they were persuaded, that Rome would not be contented with that, which they were willing to grant: wherefore they desired to know, in what points, and how far, they were to submit to the will of the senate. But they could have no certain answer; and therefore openly declared, that they would not consent to either of the conditions: so that the project of a peace was dropped. The ambassadors were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight^a.

Hard conditions offered to the Ætolians.

The Ætolians, upon the return of their ambassadors, finding that there was no hope left of concluding a peace, thought it necessary to guard Naupactus against a new attack. They were afraid, that Acilius, who continued in Greece, would again undertake the siege of the place. To prevent this misfortune, they posted themselves in the narrow passes of Mount Corax, in order to stop his march: but this precaution only served to make the consul turn his arms against another city of no less importance than Naupactus. Lamia, after having been the last year very near reduced by Philip, had submitted to Acilius, upon honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty: but, while the consul was employed in the siege of Naupactus, that

^a Idem, lib. xxxvii. cap. 1. Polyb. Legat. 16.

Lamia taken by the Romans.

city declared anew against the Romans. Acilius, finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon Naupactus, directed his march to Lamia; and appearing unexpectedly before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be scaled on all sides: but the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of their country. Whereupon Acilius, despairing to take the city by assault founded a retreat. The Romans returned to their camp; but next morning, they renewed the attack with such vigour, that the besieged, being tired with the fatigues of the preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place was taken.

Amphissa besieged. L. Cornelius Scipio arrives in Greece.

After the reduction of Lamia the consul was for returning to Naupactus; but, in a council of war, which was held on that occasion, not one of the officers approved of so hazardous an attempt. A steep mountain covered the place, and the passes were all guarded by numerous bodies of Ætolians. The consul, therefore, marched with all possible expedition, his consulate being ready to expire, to Amphissa, a city of Locris, which had joined the Ætolians (B). He did not attempt to take it by storm, but besieged it in form: the besieged made a vigorous resistance and held out till news were brought to Acilius, that L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Scipio Africanus, was landed at Apollonia, and marching through Epirus and Thessaly to take upon him the command of the army.

Yr. of Fl.
2158.
Ante Chr.
190.

The new consul brought with him an army of thirteen thousand men, and the great Africanus served under him, in quality of his lieutenant (C). Cornelius visited all the coasts of Epirus, quite to the Malaic Gulf: from thence he sent to summon Hypata, which was one of the most considerable cities of Thessaly; but the inhabitants answering, that they were not their own masters, and that they could not surrender without the consent of the Ætolian diet, he turned towards Amphissa, the citadel of which Acilius was besieging, having already taken the town. The consul encamped eight miles from the town,

(B) Amphissa was a city of the Locrians, called Ozolæ, situated near the territories of Crissa, at the distance of one hundred and twenty furlongs from Delphi,

(C) The consuls chosen for this year were L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lælius, the first the brother, the second the friend of the great Scipio Africanus.

and

and was soon visited by deputies from Athens, who came to pay their respects to him, and intercede for the Ætolians. They first imparted the chief business which they were come upon to Scipio Africanus, remembering, that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting their interests into his hands. Scipio told them, that he would intercede for the Ætolians with a great deal of pleasure. This promise raised the expectations of that unhappy nation: they immediately assembled a diet at Hypata, and sent deputies to the consul, not doubting but Africanus would obtain favourable terms for them; but Cornelius, having conceived some sort of jealousy, in seeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to himself, though vested with the consular dignity, gave the ambassadors the same answer which the senate had given before. He again insisted, that the Ætolians should either pay a thousand talents, or implicitly submit to the will of the Romans. This unexpected answer threw the whole nation into the utmost consternation: however, they sent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging, that they would either abate of the sum demanded, or, at least, if they submitted to the will of the consul, that their lives in general should be saved: but Cornelius was inexorable, and would grant neither. Then Echedemus, the chief of the Athenian embassy, advised them to demand a six months truce, and once more apply to the senate. They followed his advice; and, being supported in their request, by Echedemus and Scipio Africanus, they obtained, at length, the truce they desired. The same ambassadors who had been driven from Rome were sent back thither, and the siege of the citadel of Amphissa was raised. Then Acilius, resigning the command of the army to the new consul, left Greece, and returned to Rome. The Ætolians were not more overjoyed at this truce than Scipio Africanus, who was impatient to pass over into Asia, and once more contend with Hannibal *.

The Ætolians send deputies to the new consul;

who grants them a six months truce.

The consular army was scarce withdrawn from Greece, when the Ætolians, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field, with a design to restore king Amyntas, their friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had sided with the Ætolians, and, on that account, had been driven out of his kingdom by Philip, whom the Romans had put in possession of all the banished king's do-

* Liv, ibid. Polyb. Legat. 17.

The Ætolians invaded the territories of Philip.

minions. They soon expelled the Macedonian garrison from Athamania, and placed Amynder again on the throne of his ancestors: but this exploit did not content the restless Ætolians; instead of humbling themselves to Rome, as Amynder did, for dispossessing Philip of the dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they pursued their conquests, and, entering Amphilochia, a province of Epirus, formerly subject to them, but now under the protection of Rome, reconquered almost the whole country. From thence they advanced to Aperantia, which they likewise recovered. Having now retaken what they had lost during the war, they fell upon Dolopia, a country which had always belonged to the kings of Macedon, and to which they could lay no claim. The Dolopians were easily prevailed on to shake off the Macedonian yoke, and submit to the Ætolians. All these conquests were so many insults offered to the republic, in the person of a king who was joined in alliance with Rome, and had rendered her eminent services during the late war. Thus the Ætolians employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appease, by their submission, the wrath of the sovereign republic.

Their insincere proceedings with the senate.

However, when they heard that the Romans, upon an embassy from Amynder, had confirmed him in the possession of his dominions, they resolved, at last, to apply to the senate, not only for a peace, but for their consent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no less favourable to them than she had been to their ally, Amynder. Their ambassadors arrived at Rome soon after the election of new consuls, M. Fulvius Nobilior, and Cn. Manlius Vulso, and before the news of the famous victory at Magnesia had reached Italy. Wherefore, the better to succeed in their negotiations, they spread a report, that the two Scipios had been made prisoners by Antiochus at a conference; and that the Roman army was entirely defeated. Being questioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from some persons of their nation in the consul's camp; and, putting on an air of confidence, seemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But these unfavourable appearances did not abate the pride of the senate, or bring them to shew any indulgence to Ætolia: the ambassadors were dismissed, and ordered not to return without the express consent of the generals whom the republic should send to carry on the war in their country*.

* Val. Antias, apud Liv. xxxvii.

The consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Greece fell to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who immediately set out for that country, and, landing at Apollonia, a city of Macedon, near the borders of Epirus, assembled there a council of the Epirots, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. These advised him to begin with the siege of Ambracia (D), which would open him a way into the very heart of Ætolia. In giving this advice they consulted their own interest; for Ambracia belonged formerly to the Epirots, and was now to be restored to them. However, Fulvius followed their advice, and, crossing Epirus, sat down before Ambracia. It was defended, on one side, by the great river Arac̃thus; on the other, by steep and craggy hills, and surrounded with an high and thick wall, above three miles in compass. The consul began the siege by forming two camps, separated by the river, over which, however, he secured a communication; the Epirots were posted in one, and the Romans in the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation; and built, over-against the citadel, which stood on a hill, a wooden tower, in the form of a castle. When the Ætolians understood that Fulvius had begun the siege of Ambracia, they assembled all their troops, and marched to Stratos, a city of Acarnania, on the banks of the Achelous, the place of general rendezvous. There, in a council of war, Nicander, the prætor, and most of the officers, were, at first, for attacking the Romans; but being afterwards informed, that though the camp was fortified, the works round the place were not finished, it was thought more advisable to throw troops into the city, and strengthen the garrison. Eupolemus, a man of great resolution, took upon him to perform this service; and succeeded in the attempt, by entering Ambracia at the head of a thousand Ætolians, where the lines were not finished.

Nicander marched against the Epirots with a design to attack them in their camp; but, finding them strongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous; and therefore led his army into Acarnania, and

(D) Ambracia was formerly at a small distance from the most considerable sea (1). The situation of Arba, cities of Epirus. It stood at in Upper Albania, agrees with the bottom of the Ambracian bay, upon the river Arac̃thus, that of this ancient city.

Yr. of Fl.
2159.
Ante Chr.
189.

*Ambracia
besieged by
the Ro-
mans.*

*The Æto-
lians throw
succours
into the
place.*

(1) Strabo, lib. vii. Polyb. lib. viii.

*The city
attacked in
three
places.*

*Makes a
vigorous
defence.*

laid waste the country. In the mean time the Romans and Epirots began to batter the place: the consul ordered five attacks to be made at the same time, three on the side of Pyrrheum, a small fortress without the city, one opposite to the temple of Æsculapius, and another on the side of the citadel. The rams shook the walls on all sides; and the Romans, from their moveable towers, pulled down the battlements with a kind of scythes, which they fastened to long beams. These expedients did not at all dishearten the Ætolians, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the ill effects of the rams and scythes. As to the former, they invented a kind of pulleys, by which they let down beams, large stones, and masses of lead, upon the rams, as they were in motion, and thereby deadened their strokes: they guarded themselves against the scythes, by pulling the beams, to which they were fastened, into the city, with large hooks contrived for that purpose.

While Fulvius was thus employed in carrying on the siege, Nicander, having pillaged Acarnania, returned to Stratos, and from thence detached five hundred men to reinforce the garrison of the city: these entered the place, under the conduct of one Nicodamus, with whom Nicander agreed to attack the Roman camp at a time appointed; not doubting, but if the garrison within, and the army without, should fall upon them at the same time, and in the night, the Romans might be obliged to abandon their camp, and retire from before the city. Nicodamus narrowly watched the time in which he was ordered to sally; and, at the hour appointed, though Nicander did not appear, marched out, at the head of the garrison, armed with firebrands and torches. The Roman centries were not a little surprised at this sight; and running to wake their companions, spread the alarm over the whole camp. The legionaries marched in small bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulse the enemy, whom they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were made, on the side of Pyrrheum. Two of the enemy's bodies were driven back; but the third, commanded by two Ætolian generals, maintained their ground, made a great slaughter of the Romans, set fire to their tents, and then, finding themselves unsustained by Nicander, retired in good order into the city. If Nicander had, at the same time, attacked the Romans, accord-

*They kill
many Ro-
mans in a
sally.*

ing to agreement, the siege would have been probably raised *; but he had so much to do elsewhere, that he could not bring any relief to the besieged. On one hand, Perſes was to be driven out of Dolopia; and, on the other, the coasts of Ætolia were to be defended from the ravages of Pleuratus, king of Illyricum, who assisted the Romans with a numerous fleet, and committed great devastations in the Ætolian territories. The besieged, being thus abandoned, and without any hopes of succours, did not, however, despond, but defended themselves with incredible vigour and resolution. The Romans had no sooner made a breach in the wall, but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The consul, therefore, altered his measures: instead of making breaches with the ram, he began to undermine the wall, in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once, and entering the city before the besieged could have time to build a new fortification. The miners began the work, and, being covered, were not observed by the garrison, till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm: then they began to countermine; and, having dug a trench of the depth they supposed the mine to be, they carried it along the wall, where they heard the strokes of the pick-axes of the Romans. In a few hours, they came to that part of the wall which the Romans had fapped, and supported with wooden props. When the two mines met, a battle ensued under-ground, first with pick-axes and spades, and then with swords and spears: but this attack did not last long, each party making themselves a kind of rampart with the loose earth. The Ætolians, in order to drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met: this was a hollow vessel, with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and armed with spikes at proper distances, to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This vessel they filled with feathers, which they set on fire, and with bellows driving the smoke on the besiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being suffocated, and interrupt the work; which interruption they made use of to repair the foundations of the walls *.

The Ætolians defend themselves with great vigour.

A battle under-ground.

Machine invented by the Ætolians.

This vigorous resistance did not raise the courage of the Ætolians in general: they knew, that, by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen, the reduction of Ambracia

* Liv. *ibid.* cap. 5.

* Liv. *ibid.* cap. 8. Polyb. *Legat.* 28.

*They send
deputies to
treat of a
peace.
Prelimi-
naries in-
sisted upon
by the con-
sul.*

was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the Macedonians, Illyrians, and Achæans; and to resist so many enemies at once seemed impossible. The prætor, therefore, thought it necessary to assemble the diet, that the heads of the nation might consult together about the measures that were most expedient in the present posture of affairs. The members of the assembly were unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured, upon any tolerable terms. Accordingly, a resolution was taken to send Phæneas and Damoteles to the consul, with full power to conclude a peace. Fulvius received them with haughtiness, but did not reject their request. The preliminaries he insisted upon were, first, that they should lay down their arms; secondly, that they should deliver up to him all the horses of their army; thirdly, that they should pay to the republic a thousand talents, one half upon the spot, and the other at different payments. These conditions seemed so hard, that the ambassadors begged leave to return, and consult the diet, before they were accepted. Upon their return, they were checked by the assembly for leaving the consul without signing the articles. "We must have a peace, they all cried out, good or bad; conclude it, therefore, without giving Fulvius time to reflect." They therefore immediately set out again for the Roman camp; but, on the road, were surrounded and taken prisoners by a party of Acarnanians, who carried them to Tyrrheum, a city of Acarnania. Fulvius, being informed of what had happened, ordered the Acarnanians to set them at liberty; and, in the mean time, as he was desirous to settle Ætolia in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the intercessions of the Athenians, Rhodians, and of king Amynander, in behalf of the Ambracians.

*Ambracia
capitulates.*

As Amynander had great interest in Ambracia, having long resided there, the consul made use of him to persuade the inhabitants to capitulate. He accordingly prevailed on them to surrender, on the following terms: that the Ætolian garrison should have leave to march out of the city; that the inhabitants should pay five hundred talents, two hundred down, and the rest at six equal payments; that they should deliver up to the consul all the prisoners and deserters that were in the city. These articles were agreed to by the Ambracians, and approved of by the Ætolian diet. Ambracia opened her gates to the consul, and presented him with a crown of gold, with many fine statues and pictures, whereof there were great
num-

numbers in that city, which Pyrrhus made his capital and enriched with many valuable monuments ^b.

After the surrender of Ambracia, Fulvius, entering Ætolia, encamped at Argi, the capital of Amphilochia, then subject to the Ætolians, who had reduced all that province. There Phœneas and Damoteles, being set at liberty, acquainted him, that the Ætolian diet accepted the conditions which he had offered them. Nothing now remained, but to get them ratified at Rome; and, for this purpose, Phœneas and Nicander set out, attended by the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who went to intercede for them with the senate. In the mean time, the consul granted the Ætolians a truce, and retired to the island of Cephallenia. When the ambassadors arrived at Rome, they found both the senate and the people highly exasperated against the Ætolian nation. Philip of Macedon had represented to the senate, and magnified, the ravages they had committed in his territories, while he was in alliance with Rome; and bitterly complained of them, for unjustly detaining from him Dolopia, Athamania, and Amphilochia. His complaints were of such weight with the senate, that the ambassadors were even refused an audience: but the Athenian deputies were received very favourably; and the speech which Damis, who was at the head of them, made in favour of that unhappy nation, appeased the anger of the conscript fathers. The good offices of Valerius, likewise, who accompanied the Ætolian ambassadors, did not a little contribute towards appeasing the clamours which were every where heard against this restless people, and artfully fomented by the Macedonian deputies. Caius Valerius was brother to the consul Fulvius, and the son of Lævinus, who concluded the first treaty of alliance between Rome and Ætolia. This conclusion Valerius remembered, and used his utmost endeavours to procure them a favourable reception: but, nevertheless, Phœneas and Nicander were kept a long time in a painful uncertainty. At length, by the assiduous and joint application of the Rhodians, Athenians, and Valerius, a peace was concluded.

The only terms they could obtain were the following: first, The majesty of the Roman people shall be revered in all Ætolia. Secondly, Ætolia shall not suffer the armies of such as are at war with Rome to pass through her territories, and the enemies of Rome shall be likewise

The Ætolians send ambassadors to Rome.

How received there.

A peace concluded between the Ætolians and Romans.

Terms of the peace.

^b Liv. & Polyb. *ibid*.

enemies of Ætolia. Thirdly, She shall, in the space of a hundred days, put into the hands of the magistrates of Corcyra all the prisoners and deserters she has, whether of the Romans or their allies, except such as have been taken twice, or during her alliance with Rome. Fourthly, The Ætolians shall pay, in ready money, to the Roman general in Ætolia, two hundred Euboic talents, of the same value as the Athenian talents, and engage to pay fifty talents more within the six years following. Fifthly, They shall put into the hands of the consul forty such hostages as he shall chuse, none of whom shall be under twelve, or above forty years of age: the prætor, the general of the horse, and such as have been already hostages at Rome, are excepted out of this number. Sixthly, Ætolia shall renounce all pretensions to the cities and territories which the Romans have conquered since the consulate of Flaminius, though those cities and territories had formerly belonged to the Ætolians. Seventhly, The city of Oenias, and its district, shall continue subject to the Acarnanians. Eighthly, Cephallenia shall not be included in this treaty^c.

How ill-used by the Romans after the conquest of Macedon.

From these articles we may judge how far the Ætolian republic was abridged of her ancient liberties by this peace; however, after the conquest of Macedon, by Paulus Æmilius, they were reduced to a much worse condition; for not only those among them, who had openly declared for Perses, but such as were only suspected to have favoured him secretly, were sent to Rome, in order to clear themselves before the senate. There they were detained, and never afterwards suffered to return into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation were barbarously assassinated by the partisans of Rome, for no other crime but that of being suspected to wish well to Perses. The Ætolians appeared before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of such inhuman treatment; but could obtain no redress: nay, the ten commissioners, who had been sent by the senate to settle the affairs of Greece, enacted a decree, declaring, that those who were killed had suffered justly, since it appeared to them, that they had favoured the Macedonian party. From this time those only were raised to the chief honours and employments in the Ætolian republic, who were known to prefer the interest of Rome to that of their country; and as these

^c Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 2.

alone were countenanced at Rome, all the magistrates of Ætolia were her creatures, and mere tools of the Roman senate. In this state of servile subjection they continued till the destruction of Corinth, and the dissolution of the Achæan league, when Ætolia, with the other free states of Greece, was reduced to a Roman province, commonly called the province of Achaia. Nevertheless, each state and city was governed by its own laws, under the superintendency of the prætor, whom Rome sent annually into Achaia. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to possess lands any where but in their own country^d.

In this state, with little alteration, Ætolia continued under the emperors, till the reign of Constantine the Great, who, in his new partition of the provinces of the empire, divided the western parts of Greece from the rest, calling them New Epirus, and subjecting the whole country to the præfectus prætorio for Illyricum. Under the successors of Constantine, Greece was divided into several principalities, especially after the taking of Constantinople by the western princes. At that time, Theodorus Angelus, a noble Grecian, of the imperial family, seized on Ætolia and Epirus. The former he left to Michael, his son, who maintained it against Michael Palæologus, the first emperor of the Greeks, after the expulsion of the Latins. Charles, the last prince of this family, dying in 1430, without lawful issue, bequeathed Ætolia to his brother's son, named also Charles, and Acarnania to his natural sons, Memnon, Turnus, and Hercules. But great disputes arising about this division, Amurath II. after the reduction of Theffalonica, seized so favourable an opportunity, and expelled them all in 1432. The Mahommedans were afterwards dispossessed of this country by the famous prince of Epirus, George Castriot, commonly called Scanderbeg, who, with a small army, opposed the whole power of the Ottoman empire, having defeated those Barbarians in twenty-two pitched battles. This hero, at his death, left great part of Ætolia to the Venetians: but they not being able to oppose such a formidable power, the whole country was soon reduced by Mohammed II. whose successors still possess it.

*The state
of Ætolia.*

^d Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 6. Pausan. in Achaic.

The History of Boeotia.

*The smaller
states of
Greece.*

TO what we have said of the greater republics of Greece, we shall add something relating to the smaller states, namely those of Boeotia, Acarnania, and Epirus. The Boeotians, after having expelled their kings, formed themselves into a republic, whereof the chief magistrates were the prætor, or strategus, the Boeotarchi, and the polemarchii. The prætor was always chosen from among the Boeotarchi, and his authority lasted only a year, it being death for the prætor, according to the laws of the republic, not to resign his office before the first month, called Boucatios, of the new year was expired. His authority resembled that which was vested in the prætors of Achaia and Ætolia. The province of the Boeotarchi was to assist the prætor with their advice, chiefly in war, and to command under him; they were the supreme court of the nation in what related to military affairs, the prætor himself, who was one of their body, not daring to act contrary to their determinations. As to their number, there is no certainty, some authors mentioning seven, some nine, and some even eleven, all vested with some command in the army. But their authority was not confined to military affairs only; they bore a great sway in the civil administration, and were from thence styled Boeotarchi, or governors of Boeotia. They were chosen yearly, and obliged by law, as well as the prætor, to lay down their employment on pain of death, before the first month of the new year was expired. The polemarchi were entirely civil magistrates, it being their province to maintain peace and concord at home, while the Boeotarchi were employed abroad in the wars of the republic.

*Boeotarchi,
and their
province.*

Polemarchi.

*The four
councils.*

Besides these magistrates, there were four councils, in which the whole authority of the state consisted*. These were composed of the deputies that were sent by all the cities of the Boeotian republic; and, without their approbation, the Boeotarchi could not declare war, make peace, conclude alliances, or transact any other business of importance. At Thebes, the chief city of Boeotia, merchants, and even artificers, were admitted into the number of citizens; an honour which they enjoyed in no other city of Greece. However, they were excluded there, as in all the other Greek states, from public em-

* Thucyd. lib. v.

ployments,

ployments, pursuant to a law which obtained all over Greece, declaring those only qualified for the administration of public affairs, who had abstained, for the space of ten years, from all manner of trade and traffick ^f.

The Bœotians, and especially the Thebans, were continually harassed by the princes of Macedon: nevertheless they sided with Philip against the Romans, and could not be prevailed upon by the Athenians and Achæans to desert him, and join the other states of Greece, till he was entirely defeated in the famous battle of Cynocephalæ.

As they were then sensible, that the Romans would at last prevail, they thought it adviseable to provide in time for their own safety; and accordingly sent deputies to Flaminius, imploring his protection. The pro-consul received them with great humanity, and put them upon the same footing with the other allies of the republic in Greece.

Not long after, they offered a petition to Flaminius, which seemed reasonable: a great many Bœotians had served in the Macedonian army; and these the pro-consul was desired to demand of Philip, who had then made a truce with the Romans. Flaminius complied with their request, and obtained what he desired of Philip; who immediately sent back the Bœotian troops, and with them one Brachyllas, who had been banished for appearing too zealous in the cause of the Macedonians against the Romans.

The Bœotians, though indebted to Flaminius alone for the return of their troops, thanked the king of Macedon only; and, to shew their gratitude, in the first election they made of a prætor, they preferred Brachyllas, famous for his attachment to Philip, and hatred to the Romans, to Zeuxippus and Pisistratus, who were both zealous partisans of Rome; nay, they had the confidence to make this impolitic election in the sight of the Roman camp. In like manner, all the other employments were filled with such only as were enemies to Rome, and friends to Macedon. These steps greatly exasperated Flaminius; and Zeuxippus and Pisistratus joined their resentment to that of the pro-consul. These two Bœotians foresaw, that Brachyllas would not fail to vent his rage upon them, as soon as the Roman troops were withdrawn from Greece; and therefore resolved to assassinate him while Flaminius continued there. All the friends of Rome concurred in this design, persuading the pro-consul, that neither their lives nor fortunes could be safe, so

The Bœotians side with Philip against the Romans

Implore the protection of Flaminius

whom they disoblige, though favoured by him.

^f Aristot. Polit.

Their prætor murdered by the friends of Rome.

long as Brachyllas was alive. Flaminius approved of their design; but refused to contribute to it. His approbation was sufficient encouragement; Zeuxippus, and Pifistratus, having hired three Ætolians, and three Italians, fell upon Brachyllas as he was one night returning home from an entertainment, and dispatched him. Some of his companions, who were conducting him to his house from the banquet, when the assassins attacked him, were at first the only persons suspected of the murder. But Zeuxippus appeared with an air of confidence in the assembly of the people, undertook the defence of the accused, and shewed that it was not at all probable, that debauchees should have courage enough to make any attempts on the life of the prætor. This assurance made some of the Bœotians believe, that Zeuxippus was not privy to the murder; but others took umbrage at seeing him solicitous in having those cleared who were apprehended, and began to suspect, that the prætor had been murdered by them, and the plot laid by Zeuxippus.

The murder discovered, and one of the assassins put to death.

On this suspicion, those who were in his company, being put to the rack, though innocent, accused Zeuxippus and Pifistratus upon public suspicion, without being able to bring any proofs of their accusation. Hereupon Zeuxippus, who was conscious of the crime laid to his charge, changing his presumption into fear, privately withdrew from Thebes, where the murder was committed, to Tanagara, another city of Bœotia. Pifistratus continued in Thebes, not fearing the deposition of men who had been any-ways privy to the crime; he was only under apprehension of being discovered by a slave who had been employed in the assassination by Zeuxippus his master: he therefore wrote to Zeuxippus at Tanagra, desiring him to dispatch the slave, as one more fit to be employed in a bad action than to keep it a secret. The messenger was ordered to deliver the letter into Zeuxippus's own hands; but he, thinking the slave faithful and affectionate to his master, trusted it with him. The slave read it, and finding it contained a sentence of death against himself, left his master that instant, and repaired to Thebes, where he discovered the whole affair. Pifistratus was apprehended, and put to death; but the odium of the murder fell entirely on the Romans. Zeuxippus retired to Athens, and lived there without any apprehension, being recommended to the magistrates of that city by his protectors the Romans.

The

The Bœotians were inclined to take up arms; but, having no officer of experience to head them, and Philip refusing to give them any assistance, they contented themselves, with a private revenge, murdering all the Romans they found straggling about the fields; insomuch that they could no longer cross the country but in large bodies. At last, Flaminius being informed that many of his men were missing, and that there were just grounds to suspect they had been murdered by the Bœotians, sent officers with troops to enquire into the matter, and apprehend the authors of such treacherous proceedings. The officers, upon their return, acquainted him, that great numbers of Romans had been murdered, and their bodies, to prevent discovery, thrown into the lake of Copias. He was at the same time assured, that the cities of Coronæa and Acræphia had, on that occasion, signalized their hatred to the Romans. Upon this information, the pro-consul ordered the murderers to be delivered up to him; and, as he had lost five hundred men, the Bœotians were condemned to pay five hundred talents: troops were likewise sent to ravage the fields of Acræphia, and lay siege to Coronæa. The Bœotians, who were conscious that they deserved punishment, seeing the pro-consul drawing together his troops, with a design to treat them with severity, had recourse to the Athenians and Achæans; whose mediation was of such weight with Flaminius, that he immediately ordered the siege of Coronæa to be raised, and remitted four hundred and seventy talents of the fine he had laid upon the treacherous cities of Bœotia. He insisted only on their delivering up to him the murderers; who were accordingly apprehended, and carried to the Roman camp, where they were brought to condign punishment. This mixture of mildness and severity was highly extolled and applauded by the Bœotians, who ever afterwards continued faithful to the Romans. But, as some of their leading men joined Perſes, king of Macedon, in his wars against the Romans, the whole country was, on that account, treated with great severity, Rome being under no apprehension of an invasion from Antiochus, as she was when Flaminius suffered himself to be so easily appeased. At the dissolution of the Achæan league, Bœotia, with the rest of Greece, was reduced to a Roman province.

The Bœotians revenge on the Romans the murder of their prætor.

Flaminius ravages their territories;

but is prevailed upon by the Athenians to spare them.

Bœotia reduced to a Roman province.

§ Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 7.

The History of Acarnania.

*Government.
The Acarnanians
attached to
the kings of
Macedon.*

ACARNANIA lay between Ætolia and Epirus, was a free state, and governed by a prætor, a general assembly, and other subordinate magistrates of the same nature and authority as those of the Achæans and Ætolians. The Acarnanians were, above all the other Greeks, attached to the kings of Macedon, and chiefly to Philip the father of Perſes. They alone adhered to him after the famous battle of Cynocephalæ, valuing themselves upon an inviolable fidelity in the observation of treaties. However, Lucius Flaminius, brother to Titus Flaminius, undertook to bring them over to the Romans, and deprive Philip of this, his only support. With this view he engaged the chief men of the nation to meet him in the island of Corcyra, whither they repaired, according to their appointment; but the result of this conference was, to appoint another in the city of Leucas, the capital of Acarnania (E). In the second interview, the leading men of the nation, after warm disputes, drew up the plan of a confederacy with the Romans, and were inclined to desert Philip; but some, who had been bribed by the king, leaving the assembly with indignation, filled all the city with their complaints. The people joined them; and, as they were generally inclined to the princes of Macedon, who had often protected them against the Ætolians, the whole city was in an uproar.

*Reject the
alliance of
the Romans,
and
adhere to
Philip.*

During this general commotion, Philip sent thither Echedemus and Androcles, two Acarnanians, greatly esteemed in their own country, and steady friends to Macedon. These declaimed with great virulence against their slavish countrymen, who, without any regard to the faith of treaties, were betraying the interest of their country, in order to deliver up the nation to the mercy of an imperious republic. The people, already prepossessed against the Romans, supported the remonstrances of the two deputies, and protested, that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of Philip. Thus the decree, which had been drawn up in favour of

(E) Leucas was the capital of Acarnania; where the general assembly of the Acarnanians used to meet. The city gave its name to the whole island, which was called Leucadia, but

now known by the name of Santa Maura. It lies in the Ionian Sea, and divided from the continent by a straight, not above fifty paces over.

the

the Romans, was unanimously rejected in the assembly; and Archelaus and Bianor, who were the authors of it, declared enemies to their country, and guilty of the blackest treachery. Zeuxidas their prætor was deposed, for no other reason, but because he had proposed the affair in the assembly. However, upon more mature deliberation, the sentence passed against these three was annulled, and they were restored to their former honours; but, at the same time, their alliance with the king of Macedon was renewed, and the treaty, made by some private men with the Romans, rejected with indignation.

Lucius, who had, in the beginning of the tumult, retired from Leucas, resolved to reduce the Acarnanians by force; and accordingly, having made the necessary preparations, he sailed from Corcyra, with a design to lay siege to their capital. He thought the sight of the Roman troops would frighten the citizens into a compliance with his request; but he was disappointed; the Leucadians appeared on the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance. Whereupon the Roman general began his approaches, being resolved to take the place by storm. Leucadia, or the territory of Leucas, was at that time a peninsula, being joined to the western part of Acarnania by a neck of land, about five hundred paces in length, and a hundred and twenty in breadth; in after-ages this isthmus being dug through, Leucadia became an island. Lucius, having viewed the situation of the place, resolved to attack it on that side which was washed by the sea, and, on that account, the least fortified: the water being very low near the walls, the earth was easily removed, and the wall without much trouble undermined, and thrown down. But the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the Romans were repulsed in three successive attacks, which obliged the general to allow them some rest; and, in the mean time, the Leucadians raised a new wall stronger than the former. The siege would have been protracted to a great length, had not some Italian exiles, who were well acquainted with the place, brought a great many Romans privately into the city. These, uniting into one body, marched to the market-place; and, while the inhabitants were engaged with them there, the rest of the army scaled the walls, and marched in good order to the relief of their companions. The Acarnanians were surrounded, and those who refused to submit, put to the sword. The reduction of the capital struck such terror into the whole nation, that they de-

Leucas besieged by the Romans. Makes a vigorous defence;

but is betrayed by the Italian exiles.

serted Philip, and submitted to the Romans, under whose protection they lived according to their own laws, till the destruction of Corinth, when Acarnania became part of the province of Achaia^b.

The History of Epirus.

Government.

*They join
Perfes a-
gainst the
Romans.
Paulus Æ-
milius or-
dered to
plunder
and destroy
their cities.*

EPIRUS was bounded on the east by Ætolia, on the west by the Adriatic, on the north by Thessaly and Macedon, and on the south by the Ionian Sea. This country was anciently governed by its own princes; in which state it made no small figure. Deidamia, great granddaughter to the famous Pyrrhus, having no issue, gave the Epirots their liberty, who formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by magistrates annually elected in a general assembly of the whole nation. Their neighbourhood to Macedon obliged them to be continually on their guard against the monarchs of that kingdom, who made frequent incursions into their country, took and pillaged their cities, and forced them to contribute, as if they had been their subjects, to all the charges of the wars they carried on with the other states of Greece. The Romans, after having conquered Philip, restored them to their ancient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, took up arms against their benefactors, and joined Perfes; a measure which so provoked the Roman senate, that they dispatched peremptory orders to Paulus Æmilius, after the reduction of Macedon, commanding him to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them with the ground. This decree drew tears from the eyes of Æmilius; but he could not decline the execution of it. He therefore set out at the head of his victorious army; and, arriving on the confines of Epirus, sent small bodies of troops into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, that the Epirots might enjoy the same liberty which Rome had granted to Macedon. The Romans were received in all the cities of Epirus with great demonstrations of joy; for Æmilius had not communicated his orders to any one, for fear of alarming the Epirots, who would not have failed to defend themselves and their country with their usual bravery. In the meantime, Paulus Æmilius sent orders to the ten chiefs who were dispersed in the different provinces, and governed all Epirus, enjoining them to bring to his camp all the

^b Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 4.

gold and silver they had in their respective districts. The chiefs with great reluctance complied with his order; and, by these means, what was most valuable in Epirus was rescued from the hands of the greedy soldiers, and delivered to the quaestors to be laid up in the public treasury. All the rest was given up as a prey to the soldiery. Though the consular troops were cantoned in different places, the execution was made the same day and hour, the Roman soldiers falling every where with incredible fury on the houses which were abandoned to their rage. The whole booty was sold, and of the money raised by the sale, each foot-soldier had two hundred denarii, that is, six pounds nine shillings and two pence, and each of the horse double of this sum. A hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and sold to the best bidder for the benefit of the republic. Nor did the vengeance of Rome stop here; all the cities of Epirus, to the number of seventy, were dismantled, and the chief men of the country carried to Rome, where they were tried, and most of them condemned to perpetual imprisonment¹.

This order executed throughout the country in one day.

The inhabitants made slaves, &c. conveyed to Rome.

After this terrible blow, Epirus never recovered its ancient splendor. Upon the dissolution of the Achæan league, it was made part of the province of Macedon; but when Macedon became a diocese, Epirus was made a province of itself, called the province of Old Epirus, to distinguish it from New Epirus, another province lying to the east of it. On the division of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the East, and continued under them till the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, when Michael Angelus, a prince nearly related to the Greek emperor, seized on Ætolia and Epirus. Of these he declared himself despote or prince, and was succeeded by his brother Theodorus, who took several towns from the Latins, and so far enlarged his dominions, that, disdaining the title of despot, he assumed that of emperor, and was crowned by Demetrius, archbishop of Bulgaria. Charles, the last prince of this family, dying without lawful issue, bequeathed Epirus and Acarnania to his natural sons, who were expelled by Amurath II. Great part of Epirus was afterwards held by the noble family of the Castriots, who, though they were masters of all Albania, yet styled themselves princes of Epirus. Upon the death of the famous George Castriot, Epirus fell to the Venetians, who were soon dispossessed of it by the Turks, in

Fate of Epirus in later times.

¹ Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 33. 34.

whose hands it still continues, being now known by the name of Albania, which comprehends the Albania of the ancients, all Epirus, and that part of Dalmatia which is subject to the Turks.

The monarchical government prevailed at first all over Greece ;

but afterwards gave way to a republican government.

Liberty, and the love of their country, their fundamental principles.

Thus we have seen, through a series of ages, the rise, progress, declension, and, lastly, the final ruin, of the several states of Greece. The first form of government introduced among them was monarchical, which, as Plato observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over their families. But as power, when lodged in one person, becomes often insolent, unjust, and oppressive, especially if it is hereditary, the several states of Greece, in process of time, began to be weary of kingly government, and to put the administration of public affairs into many hands ; so that monarchy every where, except in Macedon, gave way to the republican government, which was diversified into as many various forms, as there had been distinct kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, they had all liberty for their fundamental principle ; but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiousness by wise laws, which awed the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at least in the early times of Greece, was capable of attaining the chief honours of his republic, he considered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught, from their infancy, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained * than to their parents, and not as private persons, who regard nothing but their own interest, and have no sense of the misfortunes of the state, but as they affect themselves. They studied above all things to maintain among the citizens, and members of the state, a great equality, without pride, luxury, or ostentation. Magistrates, who had borne a great sway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. Those, who had commanded armies one year, served perhaps the very next as subalterns, and were not ashamed to perform the most common functions, either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the states of Greece, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, concern for the

* Plato, lib. iii. de Legibus, p. 680.

public good, desire of glory, love for their country, and, above all, such a zeal for liberty, as no danger could abate. So long as they adhered to these principles, they were invincible: we have seen them not only making head with a handful of men, against the innumerable army of the Persians, but putting them to flight, and obliging the most powerful monarch then upon earth to submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as they were glorious to the conquerors; but as soon as luxury, and the love of riches, prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and in a short time, became a different people. The Persians soon perceived this alteration; and, by bribing those who had the greatest share in the government, found means to make them turn their arms against themselves. These intestine divisions, carefully fomented by the Persians, so weakened them, that Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander, met with no great opposition in reducing a people that had, for so many ages, maintained their liberty against the whole power of the Persian monarchy. They made several attempts to reinstate themselves in their ancient condition; but these efforts were ill concerted, and only served to confirm their slavery. They were therefore at last obliged to have recourse to the Romans, who, after having gained them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and made use of them to destroy the Macedonian power, at last turned their arms against those they were come to assist, and reduced to slavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. Greece, thus deprived of its ancient power, still retained another sovereignty, to which the Romans themselves could not help paying homage. Athens continued to be the school of polite arts, and the centre of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Rome, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. The emperors themselves, who were, by more weighty affairs, prevented from going into Greece, brought Greece, in a manner, home to themselves, by receiving into their palaces the most celebrated philosophers, for the education of their children, and their own improvement. Thus, by a new kind of victory, Greece triumphed over Rome, and made the conquerors of the world submit to her laws.

Invincible while they adhered to these principles.

Degenerate when luxury began to prevail

S E C T. III.

*The History of the Grecian States in Asia Minor.**The History of Ionia.*

*Name and
division of
Ionia.*

IONIA, so called from the Ionians, who inhabited this part of Asia Minor, was bounded on the north by Æolia; on the west by the Ægean and Icarian seas; on the south by Caria; on the east by Lydia, and part of Caria. It lies between the thirty-seventh and fortieth degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being great disagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland country.

*Cities of
Ionia.
Phocæa.*

The most remarkable cities of Ionia were Phocæa, now Foggia, built, according to Vallerius¹, by the Ionians; according to Pausanias^m, by the Phocenses of Greece; and, according to Straboⁿ, by the Athenians. Some writers tell us, that, while the foundations of this city were laying, there appeared, near the shore, a great shoal of sea-calves; whence it was called Phocæa, the word phoca signifying in Greek a *sea-calf*. Ptolemy, who makes the river Hermus the boundary between Æolia and Ionia, places Phocæa in Æolis; but all other geographers^o reckon it among the cities of Ionia. It stood on the sea-coast, between Cuma to the north, and Smyrna to the south, not far from the Hermus; and was, in former times, one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of all Asia; but is now a poor, beggarly village, though the see of a bishop. The Phocæans were expert mariners, and the first among the Greeks that undertook long voyages; which they performed in galleys of fifty oars. As they applied themselves to trade and navigation, they became acquainted pretty early with the coasts and islands of Europe, where they are said to have founded several cities, namely Velia, in Italy; Alalia, or rather Aleria, in Corsica; and Marseilles in Gaul^p. Neither were they unacquainted with Spain; for Herodotus tells us, that, in the time of Cyrus the Great, the Phocæans arriving at Sarteffus, a city in the Bay of Cadiz, were treated with extraordinary kind-

The Phocæans expert mariners.

¹ Vallerius, lib. i.

^m Pausan. lib. vii.

ⁿ Strabo,

lib. xiv. sub init.

^o Pomp. Met. lib. i. cap. 17.

^p Mar-

cellin. lib. xv. Justin. lib. xliii.

ness by Arganthionius king of that country; who, hearing that they were under no small apprehension of the growing power of Cyrus, invited them to leave Ionia, and settle in what part of his kingdom they pleased. The Phocæans could not be prevailed upon to forsake their country; but accepted a large sum of money, which that prince generously presented them with, to defray the expence of building a strong wall round their city. The wall they built on their return; but it was unable to resist the mighty power of Cyrus, whose general, Harpagus, investing the city with a numerous army, soon reduced it to the utmost extremities. The Phocæans, having no hopes of any succour, offered to capitulate; but the conditions offered by Harpagus seeming severe, they begged he would allow them three days to deliberate; and, in the mean time, withdraw his forces. Harpagus, though not ignorant of their design, complied with their request. The Phocæans, taking advantage of this condescension, put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects, on board several vessels, which they had ready equipped, and conveyed them safe to the island of Chios, leaving the Persians in possession of empty houses. Their design was to purchase the Cænesian islands, which belonged to the Chians, and settle there. But the Chians not caring to have them so near, lest they should engross all the trade to themselves, as they were a sea-faring people, they put to sea again; and, having taken Phocæa, their native country, by surprize, put all the Persians they found in it to the sword.

Quit their country;

return, and put the Persians to the sword.

As they were well apprised, that the Persians would resent such inhuman proceedings, they reembarked with all expedition, steering their course towards Cynus, now Corsica, where, twenty years before, they had built the city of Alaria or Calaris. Before they left Phocæa the second time, they uttered most dreadful imprecations against such as should stay behind, binding themselves by a solemn oath never to return, till a red-hot ball of iron, which, on that occasion, they threw into the sea, should appear again unextinguished. However, above half the fleet broke through all these engagements, and returned soon to Phocæa, the Persians, who were desirous the city should be repeopled, offering a general pardon to such as had been concerned in the massacre. The remaining part arrived safe at Aleria, where they continued five years, infesting the neighbouring seas with piracies, and ravaging the coasts of Italy, Gaul, and Carthage. Here-
upon

Retire to Corsica.

*Defeat the
Tyrrheni-
ans and
Carthagi-
nians.*

*Retire to
Rhegium,
whence they
leave, and
settle in
Ænontia.*

*Tyrants of
Phocæa.*

*Various
fate of
Phocæa in
after-ages.*

upon the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, entering into an alliance, fitted out a fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, with a design to drive them from Cynus. The Phocæans, not at all dismayed at the sight of so powerful a fleet, engaged them in the sea of Sardinia with half their number; and, after a bloody engagement, put them to flight; but the victory cost them dear, forty of their ships being sunk, and most of the rest quite disabled. Whereupon, not finding themselves in a condition to stand a second shock, they resolved to abandon the island, and retire, with their wives and children, to Rhegium. This step they took accordingly: but soon left that place, and settled in Ænontia, now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrhenian sea, opposite to Velia in Lucania, which their ancestors had founded ⁹.

Those, who returned home, lived in subjection either to the Persians, or tyrants of their own. Among the latter we find mention made of Laodamas, who attended Darius Hytaspis in his expedition against the Scythians; and of Dionysius, who, joining Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, and chief author of the Ionian rebellion, retired, after the defeat of his countrymen, to Phœnicia, where he made an immense booty, seizing on all the ships he met with trading to that country. From Phœnicia he sailed to Sicily, where he committed great depredations on the Carthaginians and Tuscans; but is said never to have molested the Greeks.

In the Roman times the city of Phocæa sided with Antiochus the Great; whereupon it was besieged, taken, and plundered, by the Roman general; but allowed to be governed by its own laws. In the war which Aristonicus, brother to Attalus, king of Pergamus, raised against the Romans, they assisted the former to the utmost of their power; a circumstance which so displeased the senate, that they commanded the town to be demolished, and the whole race of the Phocæans to be utterly rooted out. This severe sentence would have been put in execution, had not the Massilienses, a Phocæan colony, interposed, and, with much difficulty, assuaged the anger of the senate^r. Pompey declared Phocæa a free city, and restored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence, under the first emperors, it was reckoned one of the most flourishing cities of all Asia Minor.

⁹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 65, 165, 167.
vii. & seqq. Justin. lib. xxxvii.

^r Liv. Decad. iv. lib.

This is all we have been able to collect from the ancients, touching the particular history of Phocæa.

Smyrna, by the Turks called *İsmiya*, is situated on the isthmus of the Ionian peninsula, at the bottom of a bay, to which it gives name, and is reckoned one of the largest and richest cities of the Levant. Smyrna was not at first one of the twelve cities of the Ionian league; so often mentioned by the ancients; but was, in process of time, admitted into that confederacy, by means of the Ephesians, who lived, as Strabo^{*} informs, for many years in the same district with the Smyrnæans; and hence it is, that Ephesus is sometimes called Smyrna. Velleius Paterculus[†] reckons it among the cities of Æolis; wherein he agrees with Herodotus[‡], who tells us, that Smyrna was built by the Æolians; but afterwards destroyed by the Ionians, who claimed the ground on which the city stood, and all the neighbouring country. Be that as it may, Smyrna must have been soon after rebuilt; for the same Herodotus, or whoever else is the author of Homer's life, describes it as an emporium in that poet's time, whither merchants resorted from all parts. Pliny[¶] is of opinion, that it was founded by an Amazon, named Smyrna; and adds, that it was, many ages after, rebuilt and adorned by Alexander. What he says of the Amazon is commonly looked upon as fabulous, though the present inhabitants pretend, that it borrowed its name from an Amazon, who, coming into Asia at the head of a female army, possessed herself of this city. Neither was it rebuilt by Alexander, for Strabo, a writer far more exact, informs us, that Smyrna, four hundred years after it had been destroyed by the Lydians, during which time the Smyrnæans lived in villages, was begun to be rebuilt by Antigonus; but that Lyfimachus put the last hand to the work.

By whom founded.

This new city was built, according to the same writer, twenty furlongs distance from the place where the old city stood, between the castle on the shore and the present city, as our best modern travellers conjecture^x, from the many ruins of edifices that are still to be seen in that place (F). This new city, as it was most conveniently situated

^{*} Strabo, lib. xiv. sub. init.

[†] Vell. Pat. lib. i. cap. 4.

[‡] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 194.

[¶] Plin. lib. v. cap. 29.

^x Spon,

Le Bruyn, Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, &c.

(F) A modern traveller (1) pieces of antiquity have been tells us, that many valuable found there, and mentions four

(1) Le Bruyn, Voyage au Levant.

ancient

*One of the
most wealthy
cities
of Asia.*

*The river
Meles.*

*Smyrna
greatly at-
tached to,
and fa-
voured by,
the Ro-
mans.*

*Its present
condition.*

situated for trade, became, in a short time, one of the most populous and wealthy of all Asia, as is plain from several inscriptions, in which it is styled "The metropolis, the first and chief city of Asia, the ornament of Ionia, &c." There are still to be seen many vestiges of the ancient grandeur of Smyrna, namely, a marble theatre, which was reckoned the finest in Asia, of a circus, of baths, temples, &c. for the description of which we refer our readers to Le Bruyn, Tournefort, Spon, and other modern travellers. The walls of Smyrna were washed by the Meles, a river of great note in the republic of letters; for Homer is said to have been born near its banks; whence, as the name of his father was unknown, he was called Melesigenes.

Under the Roman emperors the city of Smyrna was at the height of its grandeur, and ever courted by them, as it was the finest harbour in Asia, and distinguished with titles, exemptions, and privileges, above all the cities of Asia, Ephesus alone excepted. Tiberius shewed, on all occasions, a great esteem for the Smyrnæans. Marcus Aurelius rebuilt their city, after it had been almost ruined by an earthquake; and the succeeding emperors heaped such favours on them, as raised no small jealousy among the other Greeks of Asia. The Smyrnæans, on the other hand, continued faithful to the Romans, and are said to have been the first in Asia that honoured Rome, under the title of "Rome the goddess," with a temple, priests, and sacrifices.

As to the present city, it is situated on the shore, at the foot of a hill, which commands the port, and may be justly styled the center of trade to the Levant. Its convenient harbour and situation have saved it from undergoing the same fate which most of the famous cities of Asia have suffered. The great city of Sardis, so famous in the Greek history, of Pergamus, the capital of a rich kingdom, of Ephesus, the metropolis of all Asia, are, at pre-

y Vide Marmor. Oxon. apud Prideaux.

ancient statues that were dug up in that place, while he was at Constantinople, and are still to be seen at Versailles. Our author adds, that in 1671, an urn was discovered in the same place, with this inscription, "Marcus Fabius, the son of Marcus Fabius, of the Gale-rian family, surnamed Junius, one-and-twenty years old." Upon opening the urn they discovered the bodies, both of the father and son, lying together in their armour, which was still entire.

sent

sent, but small villages; Thyatira, Philadelphia, Laodicea, &c. are known only by some ancient inscriptions; whereas Smyrna, though often destroyed by earthquakes, is still one of the richest and most populous cities in the East, being resorted to by all the trading nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa. They reckon in the city fifteen thousand Turks, ten thousand Greeks, eighteen hundred Jews, two hundred Armenians, and as many Franks. Its territory is very fertile and pleasant, abounding chiefly in vines and olive trees; but the air is not reckoned very wholesome. Smyrna was one of the seven churches mentioned in the Revelations.

As for the particular history of the Smyrneans, their city, at first, belonged to the Æolians, as we have hinted above; but was taken from them by the Ionians in the following manner: a great many of the inhabitants of Colophon, an Ionian city, being driven out, on account of a sedition they had raised at home, fled to the Smyrneans, who received them with great kindness; which they requited with the utmost ingratitude; for, not long after, while the inhabitants were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of Bacchus, without the walls, they shut the gates, and seized on the city. This outrage alarmed all the Æolians, who hastened to the assistance of their countrymen with what forces they could raise; but the Colophonians, being supported by the other cities of Ionia, both parties came to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the Ionians should restore to the Smyrneans all their effects; and the Æolians, on their part, should quit their claim to the city. The Smyrneans, consenting to these conditions, were distributed among the other eleven Ionian cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The Colophonians continued in possession of Smyrna, which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve Ionian cities*. It was afterwards taken by Alyattes, king of Lydia, and continued subject to the Lydians till the time of Cyrus, by whose general, Harpagus, it was brought under the Persian yoke, with the other cities of Ionia. The Smyrneans* followed their pleasures, and lived in great luxury; but, what seldom happens, were, at the same time, ready to exert themselves, when called upon, and behaved with great gallantry.

*Treachery
ouly seized
by the Io-
nians.*

*The Smyr-
neans dis-
persed a-
mong the
eleven Io-
nian cities.*

*Their cha-
racter.*

Clazomenæ, now Vourla, as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve Ionian cities, and of great note in

*Clazo-
mena.*

* Herodot. lib. i. cap. 150.

* Aristid. in Smyrnæa Encomio.

The inhabitants kindly treated by the Romans.

the flourishing times of Greece. The ancient city stood on the continent, and was, by the Ionians, fortified at a vast expence, in order to put a stop to the Persian conquests. But the inhabitants were so terrified after the defeat of Crœsus, and surrender of Sardis, that they abandoned the city on the continent, and withdrew, with all their effects, to one of the neighbouring islands, where they built the city of Clazomenæ, so often mentioned in the Roman history. Alexander joined it to the continent by a causeway two hundred and fifty paces long^a: whence Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, and most of the ancient geographers, count it among the cities on the continent. The Romans always treated the inhabitants with great kindness, knowing of what importance their city was for carrying on their conquests in Asia; for they not only declared them a free people, but put them in possession of the island of Drymusa, and often quarrelled with the princes of Asia on their account^b. Augustus repaired and embellished their city with many magnificent buildings; whence, on some medals, he is styled the founder of Clazomenæ (G), though this city was undoubtedly founded by the Ionians, and, from the very beginning, one of the Ionian confederacy. Some antiquaries take Clazomenæ for the ancient city of Grynium, which gave the epithet of Grynæus to Apollo; for there was, in ancient times, a famous temple of Apollo in the neighbourhood of Clazomenæ; Cybele, likewise, was one of their chief deities, and also Diana, as we learn from several ancient medals and inscriptions. The Clazomenians held out against the Lydians, after most of the other cities of Ionia were reduced by Alyattes, who besieged, but could not master, Clazomenæ^c. The Persians got possession of it in the time of Darius Hystaspis, and thought it of such consequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of Antalcidas. Alexander reinstated them in their ancient liberty and privileges; which were rather enlarged than diminished by

^a Pausan. Achaic. cap. 3.

^b Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 39.

^c Herodot. lib. i. cap. 16.

(G) Mr. Tournefort makes mention of a medal in the king of Prussia's cabinet, with the head of Augustus, and, on the reverse, ΘΕΑ ΔΙΒΙΑ, *the goddess Livia*; round the head of Augustus is wrote, ΚΑΛΑΖΟΜ. Another is to be

seen in the French king's cabinet, with the head of Augustus, and, on the reverse, ΘΕΑ ΔΙΒΙΑ, *the goddess Livia*; round the head of Augustus is wrote, ΚΑΛΑΖΟΜ.

the Romans, whom they assisted, on all occasions, with great fidelity.

Erythræ, one of the twelve Ionian cities, is placed by some on the shore opposite the island of Chios, but, by Strabo^d, on the peninsula at the foot of Mount Mimas, opposite to the islands, called by the ancients Hippi. Erythræ was the seat of Herophile, one of the Sybils, thence called the Erythæan^e. It had a spacious harbour called Cyffus, and a temple of Hercules, which was reckoned one of the most stately edifices of all Asia. Erythræ sided, on all occasions, with the Romans, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and considerably enlarged their territory^f. Erythræ.

Teos, situated on the south side of the Ionian peninsula, was likewise one of the twelve cities. Anacreon was born here, and also Hecateus the historian. The inhabitants abandoning, in Anacreon's time, their native country, where they were grievously oppressed by the Persians, retired to Thrace, and settled in the city of Abdera, which Timefius of Clazomenæ had founded (H). They were the only people among the Ionians, as Herodotus observes, who preferred banishment to slavery; and are, therefore, greatly commended by that writer. Some of them returned afterwards to their ancient habitation; for, in the Roman times, the city of Teos was of some note, and well peopled. The small towns of Eræ and Myonnesus, between Teos and Lebedus, were formerly subject to the Teians, who enjoyed a large territory, extending from their city to the neighbourhood of Lebedus. Teos.

Lebedus, counted by Mela, Strabo, and Herodotus, among the twelve Ionian cities, stood on the isthmus of the Ionian peninsula, over-against Smyrna, and was famous in ancient times for the sports that were there yearly performed in honour of Bacchus. Lyfimachus utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to Ephesus^g. Upon his death they left Ephesus, and rebuilt Lebedus.

^d Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 443.

^e Pausan. in Phoc. cap. 12.

^f Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 39.

^g Pausan. Attic. cap. 9.

(H) And hence the saying, *Ἀθήνη καὶ τὴν ἀπὸικίαν*, *Abdera*, a fine colony of the Teians, signifying, that brave men will choose to live any where rather

than suffer oppression and servitude (2). To this saying some think Tully alludes, in his Epistles to Atticus (3).

(2) Vide Eras. Chiliad.

(3) Cic. ad Attic. lib. vii. & iv,

Lebedus;

Lebedus; which, however, never afterwards made any figure, being a village rather than a city.

Colophon.

Colophon, now Altobosco, or, as others will have it, Belvedere, was one of the chief cities of the Ionian league, seated on the coast, and not an inland city, as Pliny^b calls it. It was destroyed by Lyfimachus, and the inhabitants were sent to people Ephesus; but, after his death, rebuilt in a more convenient situation. The Colophonians were so skilled in horsemanship, that those they sided with were always sure of the victory; a circumstance which gave rise to the trite proverbⁱ (I). Colophon was the birth-place of Nicander, and one of the seven cities that claimed Homer, who lived there some time, as Herodotus informs us in the life of that great poet. The ancients mention a famous grove and temple of Apollo Clarius, in the neighbourhood of this city. Whence that deity borrowed the epithet of Clarius is uncertain, some pretending that his temple stood in a small town near Colophon, called Claros; and others maintaining, that he was so called from a mountain bearing that name. The small town of Notium, on the same coast, often mentioned by Livy, belonged to the Colophonians, and was by the Romans allowed to enjoy the same privileges as were granted to Colophon itself^k.

Ephesus.

Ephesus, called by the present inhabitants Aiasaloue, was, in former times, the metropolis of all Asia. Stephanus gives it the title of Epiphanestate, or *most illustrious*. Pliny styles it the ornament of Asia; and Strabo the greatest and most frequented emporium of that continent. How different was the ancient Ephesus from the modern, which is but a mean village, inhabited by thirty or forty Greek families, who are not capable, as Spon observes, to understand the epistle St. Paul wrote to their forefathers. The ancient city stood about fifty miles south of Smyrna, near the mouth of the river Cayster, and the shore of the Icarian sea, which is a bay of the Ægean; but as it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, it is no easy matter to determine the precise place. Most of our modern travellers are of opinion, that the ancient city stood more to the south than the present; which they argue from the ruins that still remain. Ephesus was, in

^b Plin. lib. v. cap. 29.
lib. xxxviii. cap. 39.

ⁱ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 444.

^k Liv.

(I) Τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἐνέθηναι, *put the last hand to a work, to Colophonem addere; that is, to end it with success.*

ancient times, known by the names of Alopes, Ortygia, Morges, Smyrna, Trachæa, Samornion, and Ptela¹. It was called Ephesus, according to Heraclides^m, from the Greek word ephesus, signifying *permission*; because Hercules (says he) permitted the Amazons to live and build a city in that place. Others tell us, that Ephesus was the name of the Amazon that founded the city; for Pliny, Justinⁿ, and Orosius^o, unanimously affirm, that it was built by an Amazon; while others bestow this honour upon Androclus, the son of Codrus, king of Athens, who was the chief of the Ionians that settled in Asia. But, in matters of so early a date, it is impossible to come at the truth, and therefore not worth our while to dwell on such fruitless enquiries. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the Roman times was the metropolis of all Asia, acknowledged Lyfimachus for its founder; for that prince, having caused the ancient city to be entirely demolished, rebuilt, at a vast expence, a new one, in a place more convenient, and nearer the temple. Strabo tells us, that, as the inhabitants shewed a great reluctance to quit their ancient habitations, Lyfimachus caused all the drains that conveyed the water into the neighbouring fens and the Cayster, to be privately stoped up; whereby the city being on the first violent rains in great part laid under water, and many of the inhabitants drowned, they were glad to abandon the ancient, and retire to the new city. This new Ephesus was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, but by that emperor repaired and adorned with several stately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be seen, and scarce any thing worthy of ancient Ephesus. The aqueduct part of which is still standing, is generally believed to have been the work of the Greek emperors; the pillars, which support the arches, are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of the water required. This aqueduct, served to convey water into the city from the spring of Halitee, mentioned by Pausanias. The gate, now called by the inhabitants, for what reason we know not, the Gate of Persecution, is remarkable for three bas-reliefs on the mould, of an exquisite taste. The port, of which so many medals have been struck, is at present but an open road, and not much frequented. The Cayster was formerly navigable, and afforded a safe place

Its various names.

Lyfimachus builds a new Ephesus.

¹ Plin. lib. v. cap. 29. lib. ii.

^m Heraclid. de Polit.

ⁿ Justin.

^o Orosius, lib. i. cap. 15.

for ships to ride in, but is now almost choaked up with sand.

*The temple
of Diana.*

But the chief ornament of Ephesus was the celebrated temple of Diana, built at the common charge of all the states in Asia, and, for its structure, size, and furniture, accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was situate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marsh; which place they chose, if we believe Pliny, as the least subject to earthquakes. This site doubled the charges; for they were obliged to be at a vast expence in making drains to convey the water that came down the hill, into the morasses and the Cayster. Philo Byzantius tells us, that, in this work, they used such a quantity of stone, as almost exhausted all the quarries in the country; and these drains or vaults are what the present inhabitants take for a labyrinth. To secure the foundation of the conduits or sewers, which were to bear a building of such a prodigious weight, they laid beds of charcoal, says Pliny, well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years, Pliny says four hundred^p, were spent in building this wonderful temple by all Asia. It was four hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and two hundred in breadth, supported by a hundred and twenty-seven marble pillars, seventy feet high, of which twenty-seven were most curiously carved, and the rest polished. These pillars were the works of so many kings, and the bas-reliefs of one were done by Scopas, the most famous sculptor of antiquity; the altar was almost wholly the work of Praxiteles. Cheiromocrates, who built the city of Alexandria, and offered to form Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, was the architect employed on this occasion. The temple enjoyed the privilege of an asylum, which at first extended to a furlong, was afterwards enlarged by Mithridates to a bow-shot, and doubled by Marc Antony, so that it took in part of the city: but Tiberius, to put a stop to the many abuses and disorders that attend privileges of this kind, revoked them all, and declared, that no man, guilty of any wicked or dishonest action, should escape justice, though he fled to the altar itself.

*Priests of
Diana.*

The priests, who officiated in this temple, were held in great esteem, and trusted with the care of sacred virgins, or priestesses, but not till they were made eunuchs. They were called Estiatores and Essenæ, had a particular diet,

^p Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 40.

and were not allowed, by their constitutions, to go into any private house. They were maintained with the profits accruing from the lake Selinusius, and another that fell into it, which must have been very considerable, since they erected a golden statue to one Artemidorus, who, being sent to Rome, recovered them, after they had been seized by the farmers of the public revenues¹. All the Ionians resorted yearly to Ephesus, with their wives and children, where they solemnized the festival of Diana with great pomp and magnificence², making, on that occasion, rich offerings to the goddess, and valuable presents to her priests. The *asarchæ*, mentioned by St. Luke³, were, according to Beza, those priests whose peculiar province it was to regulate the public sports that were annually performed at Ephesus; in honour of Diana; they were maintained with the collections made during the sports; for all Asia flocked to see them. The great Diana of the Ephesians, as she was styled by her blind adorers, was, according to Pliny⁴, a small statue of ebony, made by one Canitia, though commonly believed to have been sent down from heaven by Jupiter. This statue was at first placed in a nich, which, as we are told, the Amazons caused to be made in the trunk of an elm. Such was the first rise of the veneration that was paid to Diana in this place (K).

*Diana of
the Ephesians.*

The

¹ Strab. ubi supra.
Acts xvi.

² Thucyd. lib. iii.
³ Plin. lib. xix. cap. 4.

⁴ Luke,

(K.) In process of time the veneration for the goddess daily increasing among the inhabitants of Asia, a most stately and magnificent temple was built near the place where the elm stood, and the statue of the goddess placed in it. This was the first temple, but not quite so sumptuous as that which we have described, though reckoned, as well as the second, among the wonders of the world. The second was remaining in Pliny's time, and in Strabo's; and is supposed to have been destroyed in the reign of Constantine, pursuant to the edict by which that em-

peror commanded all the temples of the heathens to be thrown down and demolished: the former was burnt the same day that Alexander was born, by one Erostratus, who owned on the rack, that the only thing which had prompted him to destroy so excellent a work, was the desire of transmitting his name to future ages. Whereupon the common council of Asia made a decree, forbidding any one to name him; but this prohibition served only to make his name more memorable, such a remarkable extravagance, or rather madness, being taken notice of by all

Government.**Tyrants of Ephesus.**

The Ionians first settled at Ephesus under the conduct of Androclus, who drove out the Carians and Leleges, by whom those places were possessed at his arrival. The city, whether built by him, as Strabo affirms, or by one Cræsus or Ephesus, long before the Ionic migration, as others maintain, became soon the metropolis of Ionia. It was at first governed by Androclus, and his descendants, who assumed the royal title, and exercised the regal authority over the new colony: whence, even in Strabo's time, the posterity of Androclus were styled kings, and allowed to wear a scarlet robe, with a sceptre, and all the ensigns of the royal dignity. In process of time, a new form of government was introduced, and a senate established; but when, or on what occasion, this change happened, we know not. This kind of government continued till the time of Pythagoras, who lived before Cyrus the Great, and was one of the most cruel and inhuman tyrants we read of in history; for, having driven out the senate, and taken all the power into his own hands, he filled the city with blood and rapine, not sparing even those who fled to the temple of Diana for shelter^u. Pythagoras was succeeded by Pindarus, who bore the same sway in the city; but treated the citizens with more humanity. In his time Ephesus being besieged by Cræsus, king of Lydia, he advised the inhabitants to devote their city to Diana, and fasten the wall, by a rope, to the pillars of her temple. They followed his advice, and were, from reverence to the goddess, not only

^u Suidas.

all the historians who have written of those times. Alexander offered to rebuild the temple at his own expence, provided the Ephesians would agree to put his name on the front; but they rejected his offer in such a manner as prevented the repentment of that vain prince, telling him, that "it was not fit one god should build a temple to another (1)." The pillars, and other materials that had been saved out of the flames, were sold, and also the jewels of the Ephesian women, who, on that occasion,

willingly parted with them; and the sum raised from thence served for the carrying on of the work till other contributions came in, which, in a short time, amounted to an immense treasure. This is the temple which Strabo, Pliny, and other Roman writers speak of. It stood between the city and the port, and was built, or rather finished, as Livy (2) tells us, in the reign of king Servius. Of this wonderful structure there is nothing at present remaining but some ruins, and a few broken pillars.

(1) Strabo, ubi supra.

(2) Liv. lib. i. cap. 45.

treated with great kindness by Croesus, but restored to their former liberty *. Pindarus, being obliged to resign his power, retired to Peloponnesus. He was, according to Ælian, grandson to Alyattes king of Lydia, and Croesus's nephew. The other tyrants of Ephesus mentioned in history are Athenagoras, Comas, Aristarchus, and Hegesias; of which the last was expelled by Alexander, who, coming to Ephesus, after having defeated the Persians on the banks of the Granicus, bestowed upon Diana all the tributes which the Ephesians had paid to the Persians, and established a democracy in the city. In the war between Mithridates and the Romans, they sided with the former, and, by his direction, massacred all the Romans that resided in their city; for which barbarity they were severely fined, and reduced almost to beggary, by Sylla, but afterwards treated kindly, and suffered to live according to their own laws, as is plain from several ancient inscriptions and medals (L). The Ephesians were much addicted to superstition, sorcery, and curious arts, as the Scripture styles them †; whence came the proverb "Ephesian letters," signifying all sorts of spells or charms (M).

Priene.

Priene was one of the ancient cities of Ionia, and the birth-place of Bias, one of the seven wise men. Ptolemy places it at a great distance from the sea; but all other geographers count it among the maritime towns of Ionia.

Miletus.

Miletus, now Palatascchia, was formerly a city of great note, being styled, by Pliny ‡, and Pomponius Mela §, the first city and metropolis of all Ionia. The same Pliny mentions the ancient and new Miletus: the former he calls Lelegeis, Pithyusa, and Anaëctoria; and Strabo tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of Crete ‖. The latter was founded, according to Strabo, by Neleus, the son of Codrus, king of Athens, when he first settled in that part of Asia. This great city stood on the south side of the river Mæander, near the sea-coast. The inhabitants

* Herodot. lib. i. cap. 26. Polyæn. lib. vii. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 26. † Acts xix. 19. ‡ Plin. lib. v. cap. 29. § Pomp. Mela. lib. i. cap. 17. ‖ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 437.

(L) Among others, we find one of Vespasian, with this remarkable inscription: ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

(M) By the Ephesian letters were meant certain obscure

words, and incoherent sentences, which superstitious bigots used to write on their girdles, and even imprint on their feet, and other parts of their bodies.

*Colonies
founded by
the Milesians.*

*Temple of
Apollo Didymæus.*

applied themselves very early to navigation, having founded, according to Pliny, eighty, according to Seneca ^c, three hundred and eighty colonies, in different parts of the world. The city itself was no less famous for a temple and oracle of Apollo, surnamed Didymæus, than for the wealth and number of its citizens. This temple was burnt by Xerxes; but rebuilt by the Milesians to such an immense size, that it was accounted the greatest in the world, being equal in compass, as Strabo attests, to a village; it remained uncovered, but was surrounded with a thick grove, in which the priests dwelt, who served the temple. Pliny places this temple and grove at a hundred and fifty-eight furlongs from the city; but Strabo says, that it stood near the walls. Our modern travellers tell us, that there are still large ruins of the temple to be seen; but that the town is reduced to a few shepherds cottages. Near Miletus stood Mount Latmos, where the moon, as the poets feigned, made her private visits to Endymion. Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and the first who foretold an eclipse of the sun, was born in this city, and thence surnamed the Milesian, to distinguish him from a famous lyric poet bearing the same name.

*Domestic
troubles in
Miletus.*

Miletus was in a most flourishing condition in the time of Darius Hystaspis, and accounted the ornament of Ionia, as Herodotus informs us ^d, though it had been strangely afflicted with domestic troubles for two generations before, and almost reduced to the last extremities. Their differences were at last composed, as the same writer informs us ^e, by the Parians, whom they had chosen from among all the Greeks for that purpose. These, arriving at Miletus, and observing that the fields round the city lay, in great part, uncultivated, told the inhabitants they designed to survey their whole country; which they did accordingly, writing down the name of the owner, wherever they saw, in that desolate country, any portion of land well cultivated. After they had thus viewed the whole territory, and found but a very small part of it well kept, they returned to the city; and, having called an assembly, put the government into the hands of those, whose lands they had found in good condition, not doubting but they would administer the public affairs with the same care which they had taken of their own. They

*How composed by the
Parians.*

^c Seneca de Consolat. ad Albinam.
28, 29. ^e Idem ibid.

^d Herodot. lib. v. cap.

strictly enjoined the rest of the Milesians, who, till that time, had been rent into parties and factions, to obey the magistrates they had appointed; and, in this manner, reformed the state of the city, which thenceforth daily increased in wealth and power.

In the time of Psammiticus, king of Egypt, a colony of Milesians settled in that country, and built a wall, as Strabo tells us, called by the Egyptians the Milesian wall^f. We may judge of the wealth, power, and flourishing condition of Miletus in those days, from the long and expensive war which they maintained against Gyges, Ardyces, Sadyattes, and Alyattes, kings of Lydia, without being assisted by any of the Ionians, except the Chians, whom they had supported against the Erythræans. In what manner this war was carried on, and how Alyattes was, at last, obliged to sue for peace, we have already related. After the defeat of Croesus, and taking of Sardis, all the Ionians sent ambassadors to Cyrus, offering to submit to him on the same terms which had been granted to them by Croesus; but that prince, rejecting the proposals of the others, admitted the Milesians alone on the terms of their former agreement with the Lydians. By this indulgence of Cyrus, Miletus flourished above all the cities of Ionia, till it fell into the hands of Hystiæus and Aristagoras, who brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all Ionia; for Miletus was besieged, taken, and laid in ashes, by the Persians, whom they had provoked, and the inhabitants transferred first to Susa, and then to Ampæ, a city on the Red Sea, not far from the mouth of the Tigris. The Athenians were so grieved at their misfortune, that they mourned and shed tears when they first heard it, in the same manner as if the like calamity had happened to Athens itself; and, some time after, one Phrynicus, a dramatic poet, having written a tragedy on the destruction of Miletus, the whole theatre burst into tears when it was exhibited; and the magistrate fined the author in a thousand drachmas, for renewing the memory of a misfortune which they looked upon as their own; ordering, at the same time, that the piece should never more be acted^g.

Maintain a long war against the kings of Lydia.

Miletus ruined by the Persians.

The Persians, having thus utterly ruined Miletus, and transplanted the inhabitants, reserved for themselves the lands about the town, and level country; but bestowed the hilly, and less fruitful parts, on the Carians of Pedieis.

^f Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 551.

^g Herodot. lib. xvi. cap. 18 & 21.

The Milesians rebuild their city.

This misfortune befel Miletus six years after the revolt of Aristagoras, in the reign of Darius Hystaspis; and had been long before foretold, if we believe Herodotus, by the oracle of Apollo Didymæus. However, the Milesians were suffered afterwards to return, and rebuild their city; which they did in a different place from that of the former, as we conjecture from the prediction of Thales, related by Plutarch^h; for that philosopher desired his body might be buried in an abandoned and solitary place, at some distance from the city; saying, that it would, one day, become the market-place of the Milesians. The inhabitants never afterwards recovered their former power; for we find them, eight years before the Peloponnesian war, contending with the Samians for the sovereignty of Priene, and obliged to call in the Athenians to their assistance; for which piece of service they sided with them in the Peloponnesian war, till they were persuaded by Alcibiades, then in banishment, to join the Lacedæmoniansⁱ.

Reduced by the Persians to slavery; but treated kindly by Alexander and the Romans.

In the time of Cyrus the younger they attempted to shake off the Persian yoke, and join that prince against his brother Artaxerxes; but Tissaphernes, governor of that province, having timely notice of their design, put some of the chief conspirators to death, banished others, and reduced the city to a miserable state of slavery. At the famous peace of Antalcidas, it was given up to the Persians, and remained subject to them till the time of Alexander, who restored them to their ancient liberty, although they had shut their gates against him, and did not submit till reduced to the last extremities^k. By the Romans they were treated very kindly, and suffered to enjoy their freedom, especially under the emperors.

Tyrants of Miletus.

The Milesians, like the other states of Ionia, when free from a foreign yoke, were often reduced to a miserable state of slavery by tyrants of their own, who governed them with an arbitrary sway, and made them feel all the evils of a foreign subjection. The first, who usurped this power over their fellow-citizens, were Thoas and Damasenor, who, as Plutarch informs us^l, filled the city with blood and slaughter, and spared none but such as submitted to their usurped authority. These being destroyed, or driven out, Thrasybulus seized the sovereignty, which he maintained to his death. In his time, and by his means, an end was put to the war, which had been, for

^h Plutarch. in Solon.
lib. xiv. & Plut. in Alexandro.

ⁱ Thucyd. lib. i. iv. viii.

^k Strab.
^l Plutarch. in Ptolem.

many years, carried on between the Lydians and Milesians. He was so famous for his prudence in the administration of public affairs, that most of the petty tyrants of Greece courted his friendship, and governed themselves, in their unjust usurpation, by his advice. Among these, Periander, tyrant of Corinth, is said to have dispatched a messenger to him, to enquire what methods he had pursued in so settling his authority among the Milesians, that none of the citizens entertained any thoughts of shaking off the yoke which he had imposed upon them. Thraſybulus, unwilling to send an answer, either in writing or by word of mouth, took the slave into a corn-field, and there, as it were by way of amusement, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. Then he sent back the messenger without any answer. Periander understood the hint; put all those to death whose over-grown power gave him any umbrage, and thereby enjoyed, without disturbance, the authority he had usurped^m. Upon the death of Thraſybulus several other tyrants rose up, mentioned by Herodotusⁿ, Plutarch, and other writers^o. Among these, the most famous in history are Hyſtiæus and Aristagoras, who, in attempting to shake off the yoke of the Persian kings, by whom they were supported, brought utter destruction upon all the Greek colonies in Asia, as we have related at length in the history of Persia. In the time of Antiochus II. king of Syria, we read of one Timarchus reigning in Miletus, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, who was, on that account, honoured by the Milesians with the surname of Theos, or *God*^p. Miletus gave birth to the celebrated philosophers Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Thales. The islands of Chios and Samos were likewise inhabited by the Ionians, and belonged to their confederacy. But we shall have occasion to speak of them in the history of the Greek islands.

Æolis, so called from the Æolians, who settled in this part of Asia, extended, according to Strabo^q, from the promontory Lectus to the river Hermus, and contained the following cities: Cyme, Larissa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cylla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Egæa, Myrina, and, in more ancient times, Smyrna, which, as we have related above, was taken from the Æolians by the Ionians.

*Description
of Æolis.*

^m Polyæn. lib. vi. Zonar. tom. ii. Frontin. lib. ii. cap. 15. ⁿ Herodot. lib. iv. v. vi. ^o Tzetzes Chiliad. 3 & 9. Probus in Militiad. ^p Appian in Syriac. Prolog. in Trogum, lib. xxvi. ^q Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 423.

*Cities in
Æolis.*

These are the eleven ancient cities of Æolis mentioned by Herodotus¹. Cyme stood on the sea-coast, and was the last of the maritime cities of Æolis towards Ionia. Larissa belongs properly to Troas, and is placed by Strabo between Achæum and Colonæ. In former times Æolis comprehended all Troas, and extended, along the coast, from Ionia to the Propontis. Neontichus, or Neon-Tichos, is mentioned by Thucydides² as situate in the country of the Apodoti, who were a peculiar tribe of Æolians, inhabiting the sea-coast. Tenus, called also Temnos, is placed by Pliny at the mouth of the Hermus; but by all other geographers, in the inland parts of Æolis. Cylla was a colony of the Æolians, on the sea-coast of Mysia. Notium stood on the sea-side, about two miles from Cilo-phon³, and was, in after-ages, subject to the Colophonians. Authors do not agree about the precise situation of Ægi-roessa, some placing it on the coast, and others at a great distance from the sea. Pitane was a considerable town, not far from the mouth of the river Caicus. The inhabitants of this city are said to have had the art of making bricks that floated, like wood, upon the water. Ægæa, or Ægæ, bordered on the territory of Cyme, and is counted, by Strabo, among the Mediterranean cities of Æolis. Myrina, the most ancient city of all Æolis, stood on the coast, and had a very safe and capacious harbour. It was, in after-ages, called Sebastopolis, in honour of Augustus. To these Pliny, Strabo, and Pomponius Mela, add Grynium and Elæa. The former was about forty furlongs distant from Myrina, and famous for a temple and grove consecrated to Apollo; whence the surname of Grynæus is often given by the poets to that deity. The latter, which was the port of Pergamus, and the birth-place of Zeno the philosopher, stood near the mouth of the Caicus⁴. Cyme, or, as others write it, Cuma, was the metropolis of all Æolis.

*Doris.**Cities in
Doris.*

Doris, properly so called, was that large promontory of Caria, which runs into the sea opposite the island of Telos. The chief cities of Doris were, Halicarnassus, formerly the capital of Caria, and famous for the mausoleum, or tomb, built by queen Artemisia, in honour of her husband Mausolus, which was of so noble a structure, that the ancients looked upon it as one of the wonders of the world. This city gave birth to the two celebrated histo-

¹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 149.
lib. xxxvii.

² Thucyd. lib. viii.

³ Strabo, lib. xiii.

⁴ Liv.

ians Herodotus and Dionysius, and to the poets Heraclitus and Callimachus. It stood between the Ceramic and Iasian bays, and was reckoned one of the strongest cities of Asia*. It is now a heap of ruins, and known by the name of Nesi. Cnidus stood on the sea called Triopium, having, on the north, the Ceramic, or, as others call it, the Ceraunian bay, and on the south the Rhodian sea. This city was formerly famous for the Venus of Praxiteles; and, as Venus was the tutelar goddess of the place, she is thence often styled by the poets, the Cnidian goddess. Lindus, Ialyfus, and Camirus, were, likewise, cities of the Dorians, as Herodotus informs us†. but we find nothing relating to them worth mentioning.

That the Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians, who settled in Asia Minor, were Greek nations, is not to be doubted.

As to their migration, it is said by all chronologers, except Eusebius and his followers, to have happened a hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy, and sixty after the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus; that is, about seven hundred and ninety-four before the Christian æra. The Æolic migration preceded the Ionic about fifty-two years, and that of the Dorians was posterior to the Ionic near seventy.

The Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, were at first governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms, the monarchical form of government prevailing, at the time of their migration, all over Greece. Besides, Herodotus, tells us, in express terms, that some of the Ionians chose only Lycian kings, of the race of Glaucus; others, such only as were sprung from Codrus; and that some indifferently raised to the throne princes of either of these families‡: but the actions and even the names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was settled in almost all the Greek cities of Asia Minor, each of them being governed by their own laws, and independent of each other. However, in most of these states some private citizens, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence, sacrificing to their own security all those whom merit, rank, and zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to them. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these usurpers

Their government.

* Arrian. lib. i. Exped. Alexand.

† Herodot. lib. i. cap.

‡ 44.

‡ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 147.

so odious to the people, and furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

The Ionians divided into twelve small states.

The Ionians, on their arrival in Asia, divided themselves into twelve small states, or cantons, having been thus divided, while they inhabited Plenoponneseus; as were afterwards the Achæans, who drove them out. Of these twelve states consisted the Ionian confederacy, so often mentioned by the ancients. The chief and most powerful city of the whole confederacy was Miletus. To those we have already described, Thucydides adds the cities of the islands of Lemnos and Imbros ^a, and Velleius ^b, those of Delos, Paros, Andros, Tenos; which were all, according to that writer, peopled by the Ionians. Some of the cities we have mentioned were built by the Ionians; others they possessed themselves of, after driving out the ancient proprietors. As they brought no women with them out of Greece, they forced those of Caria away from their parents, putting to death such of their relations as opposed them: in revenge of which violence and cruelty the Carian women bound themselves by an oath, which they transmitted as sacred to their daughters, never to take any repast with their husbands, or call them by their names. The Ionians being thus established in the most fruitful and pleasant part of all Asia, their number soon encreased, new adventurers joining them from other countries of Greece; the Abantes from Eubœa, who had nothing in common with the Ionians, were no inconsiderable part of this colony; the Mynian Orchomenians, the Cadmæans, Dryopians, and Molossians, with the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians, Epidaurians, and many others of the several states of Greece, were, as Herodotus informs us ^c, intermixed with the Athenians, who were sent by the Prytanæan council.

Joined by several adventurers from Greece.

The Pan Ionium.

The latter, who were true and genuine Ionians, as deriving their original from Athens, built a temple, which from themselves they called the Pan Ionium. The privileges of this place they communicated to no other Ionians; neither did others ever desire to be admitted, except the Smyrnæans, most of them being ashamed of the name of Ionians, that people having soon degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, and given themselves up to all manner of vice. The Pan-Ionium was a sacred place on

^a Thucyd. lib. vii.
i. cap. 143, 148.

^b Vell. lib. ii.

^c Herodot. lib.

the promontory of Mycale, dedicated by the Ionian confederacy to Neptune, surname Heliconius. Here the Ionians met, to perform solemn exercises in honour of that deity, and to hold their general assemblies. This festival was peculiar to the Athenian Ionians; but the Apaturian solemnity (N) was common to all those of the Ionian name, except the Ephesians and Colophonians, who were excluded, under pretence of a murder committed in their cities.

The Dorians, on their arrival in Asia, formed themselves into six independent states, or small republics, which were confined within the narrow bounds of so many cities; these were Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus. Other cities in that tract, which was from them called Doris, belonged to their confederacy; but the inhabitants of these alone, as true and genuine Dorians, were admitted into their temple at Triope, where they exhibited solemn games in honour of Apollo Triopius. The prizes were tripods of brass, which the victors were obliged to consecrate to Apollo, and leave in the temple on an altar of gold. When Agasicles of Halicarnassus won the prize, he transgressed this custom, and carried the tripod to his own house: wherefore the city of Halicarnassus was ever afterwards excluded from the Dorian confederacy; so that the Dorians were, from that time, known by the name of the five cities ^d.

The Dorians form six independent states.

Halicarnassus why excluded from the confederacy.

The Æolians were divided, like the Ionians and Dorians, into small states, or cantons, independent of each other, but united in one common confederacy. They possessed, at first, twelve cities; but Smyrna, as we have related above, was taken from them by the Ionians of Colophon: their country was of greater extent than that of the Ionians, but far inferior to it in all other respects, Ionia being, in the opinion of Herodotus, the most

The Æolians divided, like the other Greek states, into several cantons.

^d Herodot. lib. i. cap. 144.

(N) Some writers tell us, that the Apaturian festival was so called, from the Greek word *ἀπαύριος*; that is, *without fathers*, in a civil sense, it not being, till that solemnity, publicly recorded to whom they belonged. The Apaturia was celebrated in the month Pyanepsion, and lasted three days (1).

(1) Athenæus lib. iv.

fruitful

fruitful and agreeable region of all Asia. The Dorians, besides the cities which belonged to them on the continent, possessed five in the island of Lesbos, one in Tenedos, and another in the Hundred Islands, which we shall have occasion to speak of in a more proper place. Thus the Greek states in Asia were governed in the same manner as those in Europe, forming three different confederacies, of which the cities were governed by their own laws, and the three different confederacies by their respective general assemblies, or diets.

Their religion, laws, &c.

The religion and laws of the Greek colonies in Asia were the same with those of Greece. Their principal deities were Ceres, Apollo, Diana, and Neptune. The Ionians, who came from Athens, celebrated, every fifth year, the mysteries of Ceres Eleusina; which we have already described. The Milesians worshipped Apollo Didymæus as their tutelary god; whence he was likewise called Apollo Milesius. Near the city of Miletus was a famous oracle of Apollo, called the oracle of Apollo Didymæus, and also the oracle of the Branchidæ; the former denomination it had from Apollo, or the Sun, who was surnamed Didymæus, as Macrobius informs us ^e, from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon: the latter appellation was given both to the oracle, and to Apollo himself, who was called Branchides, from one Branchus, the reputed son of Macareus, but begotten, as was believed, by Apollo. This oracle was, as we are assured by Herodotus, very ancient, and the best of all the Grecian oracles, except that of Delphi^f. In the time of the Persian war the temple was burnt down to the ground, being betrayed to the Barbarians by the branchidæ, or priests, who had the care of it. Xerxes, in requital of their service, allowed them to settle and build a city in a remote part of Asia, where they thought themselves out of the reach of their angry countrymen. But their treachery did not escape condign punishment; for Alexander, having conquered Darius, and possessed himself of all Asia, utterly demolished their city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, revenging on the children the treachery of their fore-fathers^g.

Apollo Branchides.

Diana Triclaria.

An annual feast was celebrated by the Ionians, in honour of Diana Triclaria, to appease whose wrath, for an incest

^e Arnob. lib. i. cap. 36.

^f Herodot. lib. i. cap. 97, 157, & lib. v. p. 437.

committed in her temple, men and women used to walk barefooted to it. This solemnity was instituted by the Athenians, who, till after the Trojan war, used annually to sacrifice to the angry goddess a male and a female child.

Their trade we can only guess at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and abounded in all things necessary for life. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think, that they carried on a considerable trade. Besides, we know that they were very powerful by sea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies, not only in the neighbouring islands, but even in Gaul, and beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

Trade.

They soon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and became a most superstitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people, insomuch that the Ionians, in the time of Herodotus, were looked upon as quite unfit for any military service ^b. They are said to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes, and garlands at banquets, and also of sweet-meats or desserts ^c. Maximus Tyrius, speaking of the different affections and inclinations of the various Greek nations and colonies, tells us, that the Crotoniates loved the Olympic sports, the Spartiates fine armour, the Cretans hunting, the Sybarites pompous dress, and the Ionians lascivious dances ^d. The Æolians and Dorians, being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so soon debauched by the soft climate of Asia: they were not inferior to the European Greeks, till they were subdued by the Persians; but, having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to idleness; and, in a short time, became unfit for action, and no less effeminate than the other Asiatics.

Character.

The Greek colonies settled in Asia enjoyed their liberties, and lived according to their own laws, from the time of their migration to the reign of Cræsus, king of Lydia, to whose superior power they were forced to submit, after having baffled all the attempts of his predecessors. They paid him a yearly tribute, furnished him with ships and mariners in time of war, and sent their respective quotas of land forces, when required; but, at the

Yr. of Fl.
1786.
Ante Chr.
562.

Their history.
Submit to Cræsus.

^b Herodot. lib. i. cap. 143.

^c Valer. Max. lib. ii. Rerum

Memorabil.

^d Maximus Tyrius in Dissert. Quis sit philosophiæ finis.

same

Cyrus's answer to their ambassadors.

Recur to the Lacedæmonians ;

who interpose with Cyrus on their behalf.

same time, were free from all oppression, and suffered to enjoy a profound tranquility under his mild government. This indulgence made them oppose Cyrus when he first invaded Lydia, and reject the advantageous proposals of that prince : but, after the defeat of Cræsus, and reduction of Sardis, they sent ambassadors to the conqueror, offering to submit to him upon the same terms which had been formerly granted to them by Cræsus. Cyrus having heard them with attention, returned an answer in the following apologue : “ A piper, seeing numerous shoals of fish in the sea, and imagining he might entice them ashore by his music, began to play ; but finding his hopes disappointed, he threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them to the land. When he saw the fish leaping on the ground, since you would not dance, said he, to my pipe before, you may now forbear dancing at all.” With this answer the Greek ambassadors returned home ; and, having communicated it to their countrymen, they resolved, in a general assembly, to fortify their cities against any sudden attack, and send ambassadors, to solicit succours from the Lacedæmonians. Pythermus, a Phocæan, was sent, in the name of all the Greeks in Asia ; but the Spartans could by no means be prevailed upon to lend them any assistance : however, they dispatched by sea some of their chief men to observe the motions of Cyrus, and interpose their good offices with him, in behalf of their countrymen. These, putting in at Phocæ, sent Larchines, the most considerable person among them, to Sardis, with instructions to acquaint Cyrus, that, if he committed any hostilities against the Grecian cities, the republic of Lacedæmon would resent them as offered to herself. Cyrus, hearing them speak in this style, enquired of the Greeks about him, who the Lacedæmonians were ; and what number of men they could bring into the field. Being informed of these particulars, he answered the deputy, that he was not afraid of a people, who, in the midst of their cities, had a place of public resort, where they met to impose on each other by mutual deceits ; and that, if the gods preserved his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities, instead of troubling themselves about those of the Asiatics. These words were levelled at the Greeks in general, who had in their cities large squares, where they met to trade ; a custom unknown to the Persians¹.

¹ Herodot, *ibid*.

Cyrus, having dismissed the Lacedæmonian ambassador with this answer, left Sardis; and, setting out for Ecbatan, charged Mazares, one of his lieutenants, with the reduction of Æolis, Doris, and Ionia. Mazares, pursuant to his commission, entering Ionia, took and destroyed the city of Priene, wasted the fertile plains that were watered by the Mæander, and, advancing to Magnesia, laid that city likewise in ashes. From Magnesia he marched to Phocæ; but, before he made any attempts upon that important place, he died. Upon his death Harpagus, being appointed to command the army in Ionia, laid siege to Phocæa. The Phocæans chose rather to abandon their native country than submit to the Persian yoke; and having put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects, on board their vessels, they set sail for the island of Chios, leaving the Persians in possession of an empty city. The example of the Phocæans was followed by the Teians, who, after Harpagus had made himself master of their walls, went on board their ships, and conveyed themselves and their families to Thrace, where they settled in the city of Abdera, which had been founded by the Greeks of the Ionian confederacy, under the conduct of Timesius, a native of Clazomenæ.

The other cities of Ionia were all reduced by Harpagus, and likewise the Dorians, Æolians, and all the inhabitants of the Upper Asia, except the Milesians, who, distrustful of their own strength, and that of the Ionians, had made a separate peace with Cyrus, and, by a timely submission, obtained the same terms which had been formerly granted them by Cræsus. The rapidity of these conquests struck the islanders with such terror, that they all submitted. Thus all the Greek states, both in the islands, and on the continent of Asia, were a second time conquered, and forced to live, under the Persian monarchs, in a state of greater subjection and dependency, than they had ever felt before^a. In the reign of Darius Hystaspis, they made an attempt towards the recovery of their ancient liberty, and maintained a war against the whole power of the Persian monarchy for the space of six years; but were again, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, brought under subjection, and punished with great severity by the haughty conqueror, for endeavouring to regain the rights which they had been unjustly deprived of. But of this war, and the many calamities which it drew upon the Greek states

Yr. of Fl.
1804.
Ante Chr.
544.

Mazares ordered to reduce the Greek states in Asia.

The Phocæans and Teians abandon their country.

The other cities of Ionia reduced by the Persians.

^a Herodot. ubi supra.

in Asia Minor, we have already given a particular and distinct account in the history of Persia.

*They join
Xerxes
against the
Athenians.*

The Ionians assisted Xerxes in his expedition against Athens with a hundred ships. As the king had undertaken this, to be revenged on the Athenians for having sent some ships to the assistance of the Ionians, when they attempted to shake off the Persian yoke, Themistocles, who commanded the Athenian fleet, imagined that the Ionians served in this expedition against their will, and might therefore be easily prevailed upon to desert the Persians, and join their ancient allies and countrymen. But as no opportunity offered of conferring with them, or sending messengers, he sailed in person to the place where they used to take in fresh water, and there engraved on the rocks the following words: "Men of Ionia, you are guilty of a heinous crime in fighting against your fathers, and helping to enslave Greece: resolve therefore to come over to us; or withdraw your forces from the enemy, and persuade the Carians to imitate your example. But if both these ways are impracticable, and you find yourselves under an absolute necessity of continuing in the Persian fleet, favour us at least when we come to an engagement; and remember, that you are not only descended from us, but are the original cause of the Barbarian's enmity against us." The Ionians, coming ashore next day as usual, read, on the rocks, the invitation of Themistocles, and resolved to comply with it; pursuant to which resolution, when the two fleets engaged, the Ionians, instead of falling upon the Athenians, tacked about and made to sea. Their flight, which was soon followed by that of the Phœnicians, contributed not a little to the famous victory gained by the Athenians at Salamis^a. Diodorus Siculus tell us, that the Ionians, by means of a certain Samian, gave private notice to the Athenians of all that passed in the enemy's fleet, assuring them, that as soon as the battle was joined, they would desert the Barbarians^c. This intimation so encouraged the Greeks, before disheartened, that they attacked the Persian fleet, contrary to their former determinations, and gained that victory which is so famous in history^p.

*The like
expedient
used by
Leutychides
at Mycale.*

The same stratagem was used by Leutychides, commander of the Greek fleet, before the battle of Mycale. The Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and the inhabitants of

^a Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 22.
cap. 1. p. 251.

^p Justin. lib. ii.

^c Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

the islands, made no small part of the Persian army, which was drawn up along the shore, in order to prevent the Greeks from making a descent into the country. Leutychides therefore, standing in to the shore as near as he could, ordered a herald to speak thus to the Ionians in his name: "Men of Ionia, hearken with attention to my words; for the Persians will not understand the advice I give you: when the battle begins, every one of you ought, in the first place, to remember liberty; and, in the next, that the word agreed upon is Hebe. If any of you hear me not, let those who hear inform the rest." These words had such an effect on the Greeks, that, in the heat of the engagement, they deserted the Persians, and joined their countrymen; a circumstance which occasioned the total overthrow of the Persian army. Before the engagement, the Persian generals had appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the eminences of Mycale, that they might have a safe retreat, in case they were put to flight, and guides to conduct them over the mountains, the Milesians being well acquainted with the country; but they, acting quite contrary to their orders, brought back, by other ways, to the enemy, such as fled; by which means few Persians escaped the slaughter of that day¹.

Thus the Asiatic Greeks revolted a second time from the Persians; and their behaviour, on this occasion, was so pleasing to the Lacedæmonians, that they were for transplanting them out of Asia into Greece; for they were well apprised, that, if the Ionians continued in Asia, they would be in perpetual alarms from an enemy, who far excelled them in strength, and was near to them: whereas their friends, who were at a great distance, could not be assitant to them so opportunely, and at such seasons as their necessity might require. The Peloponnesians proposed to drive those nations out of Greece, which had sided with the Persians, and to bestow their territories and estates on the Ionians. Upon these promises, the Ionians and Æolians were preparing to convey themselves, and their effects, into Europe; but the Athenians persuaded them to remain in Asia, faithfully promising to assist them, on all occasions, to the utmost of their power. The Athenians were afraid, that, if the Ionians should settle in Europe by the common concurrence of the Greeks, they would not, for the future, own Athens as their metropolis, and place of their original. The Peloponnesians readily yielded to the Athenians; and the

The Lacedæmonians propose to transplant the Asiatic Ionians into Greece.

The proposal not approved of by the Athenians.

¹ Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 97.

*All the
Greek states
in Asia de-
clared free.*

*The Ionians
treated by
the Atheni-
ans rather
like subjects
than allies.*

*Their va-
rious for-
tune, to the
time of
Alexander;*

Ionians determined not to remove out of Asia[†]. But upon the conclusion of the peace between the Greeks and Persians, which happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, one of the articles, sworn to by both parties, was, that all the Greek states of Asia should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws^{*}.

The Ionians, being thus delivered from the Persian yoke, entered into an alliance with the Athenians, who came, by degrees, to treat them as subjects rather than allies, obliging them to contribute to all the charges of the Peloponnesian war, no otherwise than if they had been their vassals; nay, Euphemus, who was sent, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, to draw the Camarinæans into an alliance with Athens, owned, that the Athenians had subjugated both the Ionians and islanders, for having joined, said he, the Persians against their mother-city. This was but a poor pretence, since the victory, which the Athenians gained at Salamis, was, in great measure, owing to the Ionians, and other Greeks, who served on board the Persian fleet. In the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, we find them again subject to the Persians, and governed by Tissaphernes, from whom they revolted to Cyrus the younger. Upon the death of Cyrus, they sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, imploring their assistance and protection against Tissaphernes, who was returning to his government, at the head of a numerous army, with a design to punish them for their revolt. The Lacedæmonians, having now ended the long war with the Athenians, seized this opportunity of breaking again with the Persians; and sent first Thymbro, after him Dercyllidas, and lastly Agesilaus, their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not Darius, by distributing large sums among the leading men in Greece, found means to rekindle the war there; which obliged the Lacedæmonians to recall their king, and conclude a peace with the Persians, equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Grecian name; for one of the articles was, that all the Greek cities in Asia should be subject to the king of Persia, and, besides, the islands of Cyprus and Clazomenæ. Thus were all the Greeks, settled in Asia, with the utmost injustice and baseness, given up to the Persians[†], whose yoke they bore, till they were delivered by Alexander, who restored all the

[†] Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. cap. 4. p. 261.

^{*} Thucyd. lib. i.
[†] Xenoph. Anacæ. lib. i. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plutar. in Agesil.

Greeks in Asia to the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges".

After the death of Alexander, as they had neither strength nor courage to defend themselves, they fell under the power of the kings of Syria, and continued subject to them, till the Romans, after having delivered Greece from the oppressions of Philip, king of Macedon, obliged Antiochus III. surnamed the Great, to grant the same liberty to the Greek colonies in Asia, which they had procured for the Greek states in Europe*. Being thus again reinstated in their ancient rights, most of the free cities entered into an alliance with Rome, and enjoyed such liberty as the Romans used to grant; till they were again brought under subjection by the famous Mithridates, king of Pontus, whom they joined against the Romans, partly out of fear, and partly out of hatred to Rome. By his order they massacred, without distinction, all the Romans and Italians, whom trade, or the salubrity of the climate, had drawn into Asia. On this occasion the Ephesians distinguished themselves above the rest, not suffering even their famous temple of Diana to be an asylum to such Romans as fled to it. However, their ready compliance with the inhuman orders of Mithridates did not exempt them from the most tyrannical oppression. No wonder then that, upon Sylla's arrival in Asia, they abandoned Mithridates, and declared for the Romans, as they had formerly deserted the Romans to side with Mithridates. Ephesus was the first that revolted; and the example of that metropolis was soon followed by Smyrna, Colophon, Sardis, Trallis, Hypæpene, and Mefopolis. The revolt of these cities made the king change his conduct: in hopes of keeping the Greek cities steady in his interest, and supporting his faction on the coasts of Asia, he restored all the Greeks to the full enjoyment of their liberties, declaring, that even the slaves should have their share of this universal freedom*. But they did not long enjoy the liberty, which the king, out of a selfish policy, bestowed upon them. Sylla, having routed the several armies of Mithridates, and reduced all the Lesser Asia, revenged on the Asiatics the death of so many thousand Romans, whom they had inhumanly murdered, by depriving them of their liberty, and laying such heavy taxes and fines on their cities, as reduced them to beggary.

*and from
his time
till their
reduction
by Sylla.*

* Herodot. lib. xvii. cap. 2. Arrian. lib. iii.

xxxv. cap. 16.

* Appian. in Mithridat.

* Liv. lib.

The city of Ephesus was treated with most severity, Sylla having suffered his soldiers to live there at discretion, and obliged the inhabitants to pay every officer fifty drachmas, and every soldier sixteen denarii a-day. The whole sum, which the revolted cities of Asia paid Sylla, amounted to twenty thousand talents, that is, three millions eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling; for the raising of which they were forced to sell not only their moveables, but even a great part of their lands¹. This was a most fatal blow to Asia; nor did the inhabitants ever after recover their ancient splendor, notwithstanding the favour shewn them by many of the emperors, under whose protection they enjoyed some shew of liberty.



APPENDIX to the GRECIAN HISTORY.

An account of the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, under the Conduct of Xenophon, commonly styled Xenophon's Retreat.

*Length
of their
march.*

THIS celebrated transaction, which was a march of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, the longest we read of in history, through the territories of a powerful and victorious enemy, and under all the dangers and difficulties that can be imagined, having been but slightly mentioned in a former part of this work, we shall now give it to our readers, by way of appendix to the history of Greece. It contains a long and memorable series of dangers and difficulties, surmounted by an army of ten thousand men, under the conduct of one of the most accomplished generals of antiquity, and transmitted to posterity by his own inimitable pen (O).

The

¹ Plut. in Sylla.

(O) It plainly appears, however, that this work (which came out under the name of Themistogenes, of Syracuse and is so quoted by Xenophon (1), though, from the elegance and sweetness of the style, universally allowed to be his), was not written by him immediately after his return into Greece, nor in the order of time in which the transac-

(1) Helen. lib. ii.

The reader may recollect the dismal situation in which we left this small number of auxiliaries, after the battle of

rions happened; for Xenophon had neither wife nor children when he set out upon this expedition; whereas, at the end of this history, where he mentions the offerings made to Diana (2), he takes notice of his son's going to hunt on the anniversary festival of that goddess. From which we may conclude, that he must have wrote it at least twenty years after; that is, as is commonly conjectured, after his retirement to Scillus, not long after the battle of Charonea, which was fought in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad.

We cannot suppose him to have been furnished with proper instruments for making observations on the situation of places, on their distance from each other, on the course and breadth of the rivers they either crossed or coasted along; and other material particularities of the like nature: all which, joined to their being utter strangers to those countries they travelled through, hath proved the source of unsurmountable difficulties, which we meet with in this account; and which have exercised the talents of some of the best critics to clear up, though, in many respects, to very little purpose, as may be seen in the authors quoted in the margin (3).

Whether Themistogenes did write an account of this re-

treat, or Xenophon only borrowed his name, to avoid ostentation, it seems, upon the whole, as if some writers had given accounts of it; which not being satisfactory to our author, obliged the world with a more perfect one, from such memoirs as he had taken of it, the rest of which he might supply either from his own memory, or by the assistance of those who had had a share in that expedition; for Diodorus hath also written an account of those transactions, but varies from him in so many particulars, that he seems to have taken them from any author rather than from Xenophon, whose name he doth not so much as mention, even where he had the greatest share of the merit; nor, indeed, upon any other account than his making war against the Thracians (4); whereas he gives the glory of the whole march to Cheirosophus, whom he names as the general chosen by the rest to conduct it (5).

Several difficulties are raised about the number of passages, or leagues, which this march is said to have consisted of, about the distances assigned from place to place, the points they steered, and more particularly, the time which this expedition took up. The most material of them will be taken notice of in the sequel; at present it will be sufficient to

(2) Lib. vii. ad fin.

(3) De his vid. int. al. Hutchinson, d'Abblancourt, de Lisle's Map, de la Retraite des 10,000. Spelman, Forster, & al.

(4) Bibl. lib. xiv. cap. 5.

(5) Ib. cap. 6.

of Cunaxa, and the death of Cyrus, in whose behalf they had engaged in this expedition²; their camp plundered, themselves in a victorious enemy's country, at a great distance from their own, and expecting every moment to feel the severest effects of the king's resentment; it was in this extreme difficulty, that Xenophon gave signal proofs of his bravery and sagacity, as well as of his singular eloquence, by which he not only inspired the desponding Greeks with courage, but persuaded their remaining chiefs to resolve upon this arduous and dangerous retreat (P); and, after the death of Clearchus, to appoint him

² See vol. iv. p. 194.

say, that the difficulties of those marches, the badness of the roads, and their ignorance of the countries through which they travelled, might easily deceive them, and make them believe each journey longer than it really was. It ought also to be observed, that our author mentions several rivers, towns, and even people, which we can find no account of in any other; and of which it is impossible to form any conjecture, unless we were better acquainted with those countries than we really are, notwithstanding the great helps we have since had from modern travellers, and geographers, as the reader may plainly see, by comparing the different accounts they have given us of the places they have seen (6).

(P) We are sensible it would carry us too far, were we to give our readers all the noble instances of his eloquence, and persuasive talent, such as he was forced to make use of on divers pressing occasions, with no less success than applause, as he himself hath transmitted

them to us, in this excellent relation; yet our English readers will not be displeased to see a specimen or two of it, that they may the better judge of the rest. He tells us, That, upon his revolving within himself the desperate condition of the Greek army, on the death of several of their best officers, and the little care that was taken, by those that survived, for the preservation of their troops, he at once roused himself, with a soliloquy, to this effect: "Do I stay for the coming of a new general from Greece to command us? or do I wait for years to undertake it myself? but in vain shall I hope for the latter advantage, if I suffer myself to be taken by those Barbarians. And is this a time for me to lie slumbering in my bed, when, for aught I know, we may be attacked by break of day?" He got up, and having assembled some of the principal officers, addressed them to this effect: "Sleep is quite fled from me, as I imagine it is from you, considering the con-

(6) See de Lisle's Map above quoted, Rauwolf, Tavernier, Herbert, Tournefort, & al.

him their general, and the chief conductor of it. What still enhances his merit is, that he had till then served only
as

dition we are in: the enemy hath, doubtless, by this time, got together the remains of their army, but what preparations have we made to oppose their fury? Should our remissness suffer us to fall into the hands of an exasperated king, who scrupled not to cut off the head and hand of his dead brother, what can we expect from him, who have fought so vigorously to dethrone him, but the most ignominious treatment, if not the most cruel of deaths. We ought, therefore, to hazard any thing rather than fall into his hands: I own, that while the truce lasted, I deeply bewailed our wretched condition, and envied those Barbarians, whom we beheld masters of a large and fruitful country, and abounding with all sorts of provisions, slaves, cattle, gold, and sumptuous apparel, whilst we could get nothing for ourselves without money, which, by that time, was almost exhausted, whilst our oath to them forbade us to supply our wants by any other way: but since they themselves have broken the peace, I foresee the great advantages we shall now gain by an open war; and the gods, who are the arbiters of it, will not fail of giving the victory to the Greeks, who paid such regard to their oaths, as to forbear infringing upon their property, notwithstanding the wants we laboured under, rather than to those Barbarians, who have made no scruple to

add perjury to their cruelty and injustice. So that we may engage in the present war with confidence, since the gods are on our side. Others of our strateges (chiefs) may think just as we do now; do not let us therefore stay till they come and excite us to it by their example, but let them rather receive it from us. Shew yourselves to be the bravest of all the Greek commanders, and the fittest to lead them on. As for me, I am equally ready to follow you, if you will take the command; or to be your leader, if you desire it; and shall be so far from declining the task, on account of my youth, that I shall think all the strength and vigour of it barely sufficient to surmount the difficulties we shall meet with."

Our accomplished orator had the pleasure to hear his proposal applauded by all the rest, and himself desired to take the command. There was only one, named Apollonides, that opposed it; and, in his affected Boeotian dialect, took upon him to say, that all attempts for returning into Greece were chimerical and impracticable, unless it was by soothing the king to consent to it. He was proceeding to give his reasons for it, and to lay the dangers and difficulties of such an enterprize before them, when Xenophon briskly interrupted him, by shewing how blind he was to what he had before his eyes, and deaf to what so forcibly

as a volunteer, and without any commission or command; and was, as is commonly supposed, under thirty years of age, when he was raised to that dignity (Q).

forcibly struck upon his ears. "Were you not, said he, with us, when that monarch, elevated with his victory, and the death of his brother, sent us an order to lay down our arms? Have you forgot what low shifts he made use of to incline us to peace, when, instead of obeying his command, we marched against him, and were just on the point of attacking him, and what promises he made to supply us with provisions, till he had obtained peace from us? and when, afterwards, trusting to his faith, our generals went unarmed to treat with his satraps, were they not used in the most perfidious manner, and put to such ignominious tortures, as make them, perhaps to this day, wish for death? And you, who know all these things, can you call it an improper advice, when I exhort you to stand in your own defence? or dare you propose to us to sue again to the king for his favour?" Then, addressing himself to his colleagues; "I think such an infamous man as this ought to be degraded from our company and his command, and only employed in carrying our baggage. A Greek with such a mind, and such language, ought to be looked upon as a shame to his country, and a dishonour to all Greece." He was accordingly degraded on the spot; and, as there was no time to be lost, they hastened

to summon the rest of the Greek captains, not doubting but they would be all charmed, by Xenophon's eloquence, into a ready compliance with this grand design; which, as it was the main spring of that glorious retreat, reflects no less honour on his divine master Socrates, under whom he had been brought up, since the success of it was as much owing to the eloquence as to the valour and bravery of his disciple.

(Q) It is not, indeed, easy to determine what age he then was of: for, if what Diogenes Laertius says be true, that he died in the first year of the one hundred and fifth Olympiad (1); and Lucian, that he lived to be upwards of ninety years old (2), he must have been, at least, in the fifty-first year of his age when he went on this expedition. But this is altogether inconsistent with what we have observed him to have said of himself in the last note, especially in the last speech there mentioned, that "he would not excuse himself by reason of his youth." He was there speaking to the officers who commanded under Proxenus, who had been lately put to death in the thirtieth year of his age: so that he must be supposed to have been some years younger than he, or else what he said would have rather looked as a banter upon the youth of that commander.

(1) Lib. iii. cap. 22.

(2) *Περὶ μακροβιω.*

The first step which the Persian monarch had taken, with regard to the Grecian army, was to send Phalinus, with express command to them to lay down their arms, and to beg his pardon at the gate of his pavilion. This was strenuously opposed by the Greek chiefs, one of whom, Proxenus, asked him, whether the king demanded it as a conqueror, or desired it as a friend: if the former, why did he not disarm them by force? but, if the latter, he desired to know what he would give them in exchange. Being answered, that the king had a right to demand it, in the first sense, seeing Cyrus their master was dead, and themselves wholly in his power, and surrounded on all sides with his troops; Xenophon, who was one of the company, gave him this reply: "You see that we have nothing left but our arms and our valour; whilst we have the former we can easily make use of the latter; but if we deliver up those, we give up all indeed! Think not, therefore, that we will part with the only two advantages we have left; but rather, that we will try with them to gain those that are in your possession." When Phalinus heard this, he said, with a smile, "You speak elegantly, indeed, young man, and like a philosopher; but you will find yourself greatly deceived, if you imagine that your valour can be proof against the king's numerous forces."

*The Greeks
ordered to
lay down
their arms.*

*Xenophon's
brave re-
ply.*

He added, that several of the Greek chiefs, less sanguine than they, especially after the death of Cyrus, had offered themselves, and their troops, to serve under the king, either against the revolted Egyptians, or on any other expedition, and with the same bravery and faithfulness with which they had served his brother. All which was said to intimidate, and sow jealousies amongst them; when Clearchus, who came in the interim, addressed himself to him in words to this effect: "You, Phalinus, are a Greek, as well as we, and are no stranger to our present situation; and we expect that you should tell us what, in honour, we ought to do. In the name of the gods, therefore, give us the most salutary advice; and let it be recorded, that Phalinus was sent by Artaxerxes to command the Greeks to lay down their arms, but that his singular prudence suggested to him the means of saving them." This he said in hopes of inspiring the desponding troops by his means; but Phalinus, who had nothing of the Greek but his birth, soon disconcerted his hopes, by telling him, that he could see no other way for them to save themselves, but to submit to the king's orders, since it was not in their power to oppose them. The Greek general

*Clearchus's
answer to
Phalinus.*

*Ariæus's
message to
the Greeks.*

*Who agree
to join
him.*

*Perceive
the king's
army.*

neral bravely replied, "If that be your opinion, you may tell the king, that, if he chooses our friendship, he will find it more for his service to leave us our arms; but that, if he intends to make war against us, we will have too much need of them to defend ourselves." Being asked, what answer he should return to the king, whether peace or war; "As he pleases, replied he; peace, if we stay; war, if we march." Phalinus, not being able to get a positive answer, retired. Immediately afterwards deputies came from Ariæus, to whom they had offered the crown of Persia in the room of Cyrus, but who had absolutely declined it, and resolved to retire into Ionia; by these they were given to understand, that he would wait for the Grecian army all that night, but that, if they did not join him by that time, he would depart without them. Clearchus sent him word, that they would come up to him accordingly, if they resolved upon a retreat; but if on any thing else, he was at liberty to steer what course he pleased. The Greeks, thereupon, having agreed to join Ariæus, and to coast along the Euphrates, reached his camp towards the close of the evening. Clearchus, accompanied with some other officers, went immediately to his tent, where the Persian Satraps were assembled and both concluded a mutual alliance, by which the Persians engaged to guide the Grecian army homeward, without fraud or delay. The treaty being ratified, and sworn to on both sides, Ariæus was asked, what route he thought best for the army to take: his answer was, "Through richer countries than those it hath lately gone through;" whereby their marches being made longer during the first days, they might gain a much larger space between it and that of the king; which last being much more numerous, would never be able to overtake them.

It is plain by this, that he had no other view than to make the speediest retreat he could: but fortune, says Xenophon, directed us to a more glorious one; for, as soon as day-light appeared, they found themselves near some villages situate on the plains of Babylon, whence, having the sun on their right, they perceived, at some distance, a body of cavalry, as they imagined, though it was no other than the king's baggage, consisting of a vast multitude of beasts of burden; from which, and from the clouds of dust that darkened the air, they concluded that his army was not far off. But by that time the day began to decline, the Greeks, through fatigue, and want of provision, were so exhausted, as to be in no condition

to fight, much less to go back. Clearchus's van-guard had lodged itself in some villages, the very timber of whose houses had been carried off by the Persians. The Greeks, who passed that night with no small uneasiness, were seized, in the dead of it, with such a panic, that nothing but the most hideous outcries could be heard, till Clearchus caused a proclamation to be made through the camp, promising a talent to the person that discovered the author of the uproar; by which they all perceived it was only a false alarm, and all was quiet again.

By break of day Clearchus had ranged the Greek army in such an order of battle, that Artaxerxes, instead of commanding them to lay down their arms, sent deputies to treat of a peace. Clearchus made them wait some time that they might take a full view of his army; and, at length, told them, that it would be time enough to treat of peace after the battle was over; for, added he, our troops want provisions, and will not listen to any but those that bring us a supply of them. They returned soon after with a promise from the king of a sufficient and speedy supply: upon which it was agreed among the Greek generals to accept of the proffered alliance, though Clearchus, willing to make them think they could do without it, made them wait a good while for the answer. As soon as the treaty was agreed on, the Greeks were conducted through a long plain, so intersected with channels, that they were forced, every mile, to cut down vast numbers of palm-trees, and lay bridges over them; and Clearchus was seen foremost in that laborious task in order to encourage the rest. At length they arrived at a delicious plain, where they found plenty of wheat, palm-wine, and dates of exquisite colour and taste; only the wine proved so strong as to give them violent head-aches.

*A treaty of
peace con-
cluded.*

*A supply of
provisions.*

*Tissapher-
nes sent to
treat with
them.*

Here they halted three days; at the end of which came Tissaphernes, attended by the queen's brother, with a numerous retinue; and, under a pretence of a particular esteem for them, he was now made governor of the Persian provinces that bordered upon Greece; assured them, that he had almost obtained from the Persian king, as a reward for his former services, the singular favour of being their conductor into Greece; but was, at the same time, charged to ask of them, what had induced them to take up arms against him; and advised them not to exasperate that monarch by two haughty answers, since that would effectually prevent his being able to serve them

*Promises
to conduct
them to
Greece.*

them. The Greeks were far from giving any credit to his great professions of friendship, looking upon him as their bitterest enemy; but this was not a time for them to betray any mistrust: Clearchus had address enough to excuse their joining with Cyrus, and, at the same time, to observe, that they had not committed the least hostility against the Persians, from the time they heard of that prince's death. Tissaphernes agreed that the truce should continue till his return; and engaging to send them fresh supplies of provisions, returned immediately to the Persian camp. He came three days after, and acquainted them, that the king had given him leave to conduct them to their own frontiers: and he engaged to accompany them to the Ægean Sea, and to furnish them with provisions all the way, on condition that they should pay for them, and forbear all kinds of hostilities. This being likewise sworn to on both sides, he promised that he would soon return, and be ready to march at their head.

*The Greeks
in great
doubt.*

He made them, however, wait full twenty days for him; during which time there was no small mistrust in the Greek camp; especially as they observed, at intervals, some new satraps coming into that of Ariæus, to assure him, and his men, that the king wholly forgave their revolt: so that this delay was looked upon as a stratagem of the Persian king, to gain time to re-unite his forces, in order to attack theirs on the first river or post they were obliged to pass; as for Ariæus, the only friend they had now left, they did not doubt but he would disappear whenever that happened. Tissaphernes being come, his troops, and those of Ariæus, were immediately joined, and began their march as one body; which so far alarmed the Greeks, that they took care to encamp at the distance of three or four miles from them.

*Their
march
through the
wall of
Media.*

Several other misunderstandings, which happened between the two armies, increased their mutual diffidence; however, after three days march, they reached the wall of Media, which was a hundred feet high, and twenty in thickness, all built of brick, joined with a strong cement. Through this wall the armies marched, still under the conduct of Tissaphernes, and then crossed over two large canals, formed by the Tigris, which, dividing themselves into lesser channels, watered that whole plain. They arrived, at length, on the banks of that celebrated river, over which they threw a bridge, while the Greeks encamped near Sitace, a considerable town, about fifteen stadia

*Encamp
near Si-
tace.*

stadia short of the Tigris (P), and out of sight of the Persians, whom they saw no more from that time. Here Proxenus and Xenophon, taking an evening-walk together before the quarter where the heavy-armed men encamped, observed a stroller asking one of the out-guards, where he might meet Proxenus or Clearchus; and pretending that he had been sent by Arizæus to acquaint them, that a numerous body lay in ambush against them in the neighbouring park, and were to surprise the Greeks on that night; and that Tissaphernes designed to break down the bridge in order to enclose them between the two branches of the river. He was forthwith brought to Clearchus, to whom he repeated the same advice; which threw him into no small consternation, when a young soldier present made him sensible of the absurdity of the message. "To attack us (said he), and break down the bridge, are things inconsistent; for, if they attack us, and beat us, what need is there of breaking down the bridge? And, if we beat them, and the bridge be broken down, they can neither receive succour from the army, nor retreat themselves to it (Q)." Upon which they contented themselves with sending

A false alarm.

(P) Sitaca, or, according to Stephen of Byzantium, Sitace, was the capital of a province in Assyria, called from it Sitacene, situate on the direct road between Susa and Babylon (1), and of a considerable extent on the north of Media. Sitace stood fifteen stadia from the Tigris, and in the neighbourhood of Babylon and Mount Zagrus. Pliny, speaking of the laudanum of Persis, affirms, that it grew on that mount, on the confines of the Sitacean territories (2). It is very probable that Sitace is the very same that is called Sita, by Diodorus Siculus. This being the first city that is mentioned in his account of this retreat, we thought it necessary to settle its situation, as well as we

could, from the authors above-named.

(Q) This was rightly judged, all things considered; but they found still greater reason to suspect this messenger, when, upon Clearchus asking him of what extent the country was between those two arms of the Tigris, he answered, that it was very large, and contained many great and considerable cities, besides a great number of villages: so that they concluded it to be an artifice of Tissaphernes, from an apprehension of the Greeks settling in that island, which was defended on one side by the Tigris, on the other by the large canals; where the country was rich and fertile, large and populous, and might serve them

(1) Strabo, lib. xvi. See also Ptolem. lib. vi. cap. 1. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 27.

(2) Plin. lib. xii. cap. 17.

*Pass the
bridge.*

*Army cross
the Phys-
cus.*

*March
through the
Median
deserts.*

*Jealousy
between
the two
camps.*

sending a strong detachment to guard the bridge for that night, and marched over it on the next morning, by break of day, without opposition. They, indeed, perceived some Persians at a distance, but they retired immediately at the sight of the Greeks, being only sent to observe whether they would cross over,

The Grecian army marched four whole days, or about twenty parasangs, through a large plain, which lies between the Tigris and the Physcus, which last was a hundred feet wide, and over which they found a bridge. Near it stood the ancient and populous city of Opis (since called Seleucia), where they were met by a Persian satrap, natural brother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, who was marching to the assistance of the former, at the head of a numerous army. From thence they marched about thirty parasangs more, in six days, through a desert part of Media, and came, at length, to some rich and fertile vallies, which were the appennage of Parysatis, the queen-mother. Here having refreshed themselves, they continued their march through the Median deserts, keeping still the Tigris on their left, without meeting with any towns, except the large and opulent city of Cœnæ, which they passed, and, at the end of five days, came to the banks of the river Zabatus, where they halted three days * (R).

Their mutual diffidence still prevailing, though without any act of treachery on the Persian side, Clearchus took the fatal resolution of going to confer with Tissaphernes, and to remind him of the oaths which had passed between them, and of the dreadful punishment that would attend the infringement of them. He went on, with observing

* Xenophon, ubi supra, lib. ii. pass.

as a retreat, if they should make war against the Persian king. Besides, had it been a real message from Ariæus, it would rather have been dispatched to Menon the Thesalian, who was his intimate friend, than either to Clearchus or Proxenus, whom he knew to be too diffident to give credit to it. This bridge was of a considerable length, being supported by twenty-seven large

boats, and wide and strong in proportion.

(R) This river, which our author says was four hundred feet wide, and at some small distance from the Tigris (3), is supposed by some to be the same with the Zaba, mentioned by Cedrenus and Calistus (4); but whether the greater or lesser of that name, is still undetermined.

(3) Cyriacor. lib. ii. cap. 3.

(4) Vide Ortel. Thesaur.

to him of what great service the Greeks might be in the suppressing of the Myfians, Pisidians, and other nations, particularly the Egyptians, who were ever disturbing the tranquillity of those provinces that were now put under his government; assuring him, that their forces, which were the fittest for such services, would be the most ready to engage in it, not only as auxiliaries, but likewise in grateful return for the obligations they should then justly owe to him as their deliverer; and concluded his speech with words to this effect: "When I consider all these things, I am so much surprised at your diffidence of us, that I would gladly know who it is that could inspire you with it, or induce you to think the Greeks capable of any sinister designs against you." To this the Persian satrap, affecting the same frankness, answered, that he was highly pleased with the wise step he had taken of reviving their mutual confidence. He took occasion, in his turn, to observe, that, as all the designs the Greeks could possibly form against the Persians would fall upon themselves, their safety depended on their friendship and fidelity: "For (continued he) had we any ill intention against you, how easily could we put it into execution? Are not our forces strong and numerous enough to surprise and destroy you? How many strong passes are there in your way to Greece, where we could, with ease and safety, stop your progress? How easily could we famish you, by burning all sorts of provision? And is it to be supposed, that, having so many ways in our power of destroying you, we should chuse that one which would expose us, by such perfidy, to the hatred and resentment of the gods? Since, therefore, I have hitherto treated you in a different way than was in my power to do, assure yourselves that I did it with a design to convince you of my fidelity to, and confidence in you; and that, as Cyrus had been formerly supported by you in his march, I might also, by the same faithful troops, be conducted back to my government. You have reminded me of the many services I may expect from you at the end of our journey; but there is one you have omitted; it is the peculiar prerogative of the king to wear his tiara upright; but he, who shall then have the disposal of your forces, may have it in his power to do so, whenever he shall think fit."

*Clearchus's
conference
with Tissa-
phernes.*

*His trea-
cherous an-
swer to
him.*

Clearchus, being now fully satisfied of his sincerity, and that these misunderstandings had been raised by ill-affected persons, agreed with him, that they deserved to be very severely punished, and engaged to bring to him, by the

*Clearchus's
ill-fated
confidence.*

next day, some of the chief officers of his army ; at which time Tissaphernes promised to let him know, whether they were those that had accused him of having treacherous designs. When he returned to his Greeks, he began to extol Tissaphernes' fidelity, and to inveigh against the authors of these jealousies and misrepresentations, declaring, that he would have them all confronted, and their perfidy punished. Accordingly, he would have carried the greatest part of the Grecian chiefs to Tissaphernes, had he not been opposed by the whole council, who unanimously insisted on the danger of trusting the Persian so far, and of putting the lives of so many illustrious chiefs in the power of that treacherous satrap. However, Clearchus, naturally hot and imperious, so far gained his point, that four of them, and twenty subalterns, were induced to accompany him ; and these were escorted by two hundred soldiers, who went with him, under pretence of buying some provisions. They had no sooner reached Tissaphernes' pavilion, than Clearchus, with the other four Greek chiefs, viz. Proxenus a Boeotian, Menon a Thessalian, Agias an Arcadian, and Socrates an Athenian, were conducted in, and, upon the signal given, were all five immediately seized ; whilst the twenty subalterns, who remained without, were inhumanly butchered on the spot, and the two hundred soldiers cut in pieces by the Persian cavalry. The Greeks, from their camp, could easily descry some extraordinary commotion in that of the Persians ; but could neither discover what it was, nor what caused it, till Nicarchus, an Arcadian soldier, who had been wounded in the belly, came, bearing his bowels in his hands, and acquainted them with all that had passed. Upon hearing the dreadful news, they ran, in the utmost surprize and confusion, to their arms. They had just ranged themselves in battalia, when they perceived Arizæus, with Arthefasus and Mithridates, coming towards them, at the head of three hundred Persian troops clad in armour. The former of these, desirous to take advantage of the consternation to make them lay down their arms, sent to desire the Greek chiefs that were left, or those who had succeeded Clearchus and his unfortunate colleagues, to come forward : upon which Cleanor and Sophænetus immediately advanced, followed by Xenophon, who came to inform himself of the fate of his friend Proxenus. As soon as they were come within hearing, Arizæus said to them, " Clearchus, O ye Greeks, having been found guilty of perjury and treason, hath been

*Seized by
Tissaphernes.*

*Subalterns
butchered.*

*Arizæus's
message to
the chiefs.*

been punished with death; and Menon and Proxenus, who discovered his designs, are honoured and rewarded. As for you, the king commands you to deliver up your arms to him; for his they are, as having belonged to Cyrus, who was his vassal."

To this the brave Cleanor, an Orchomenian, answered, in the name of the rest, "O most perfidious Ariæus, and the rest of Cyrus's faithless friends, have you no regard to either gods or men? After having plighted your faith to us by the most solemn oaths, do you now attempt to deliver us up to Tissaphernes, the most impious and deceitful of all men?" To this the traitor coolly replied, "That it plainly appeared, Clearchus was forming some ill designs against Tissaphernes, Orontas, and the rest of the Persian satraps." Upon which Xenophon rejoined, "If Clearchus hath so far perjured himself, he is justly punished; but send back Proxenus and Menon to us, who are both your benefactors, and our commanders; for, being our friends, as well as yours, they will be the best able to advise that which is fittest to be done by both." To this the Barbarian made no answer; but, having conferred a good while with his colleagues, they all returned to their camp; and the four Greek generals, whom Tissaphernes had caused to be seized, were sent by him to the king; who ordered them to be put to death^b (S).

*Clearchus
and his col-
leagues put
to death.*

The

^b Lib. ii. ad fin.

(S) This was the fatal issue of Clearchus's credulity. Xenophon here only tells us, that they were beheaded, though some of his speeches, upon another occasion, seem to intimate that they had been tortured, in the most inhuman manner. Clearchus is allowed to have been one of the greatest warriors of his age. His passion, as well as fitness for war, appears by his forwardness in exposing himself to dangers, and attacking the enemy either by night or day, as well as by his conduct, and singular calmness, under the greatest difficulties, which he viewed with such unconcern, that his soldiers were

ever ready to follow him; and were never better pleased than when he led them to such dangerous exploits. They observed, on such occasions, his eyes sparkling with fire, as if he were just then spreading fire and sword; and, on the next moment, casting such serene and smiling looks, as filled them with confidence and bravery.

Three of his unfortunate colleagues, viz. Proxenus, Agias, and Socrates, would have made a considerable figure in this expedition, if they had not been eclipsed by his superior abilities: the former, especially, was remarkable for his singular modesty and integrity; which

The melancholy situation of the Greeks.

The reader may easily imagine the consternation the Greeks were in, when they came to reflect on their present dismal situation; their principal leaders betrayed and butchered by the vilest treachery; themselves not only at a great distance from Greece, but in view of a bloody and perfidious enemy, without friends, allies, prospect of succour, or even generals to command them; surrounded by as many enemies as there were men, and hemmed in by rivers and mountains, which now appeared to him as so many insurmountable barriers. The only resource left them to depend upon were their arms, and their valour; but the former they expected every minute to be forced from them by the treacherous Persians; after which, the latter, if they had any left, could be of little use, as Xenophon justly observed to Phalinus, on a former occasion: so that they had every thing to fear, and little mercy to expect, from an exasperated monarch, who could not but resent their late tender of his crown to Ariæus, more than all the hostilities they had committed against him before. Accordingly, our author tells us^c, that they had, in some measure, given themselves up to despair, even to the neglecting of their sustenance, and of keeping up their watch with their usual vigilance. These considerations, which were still more lively and pungent in our Athenian volunteer, having at length roused him, about the middle of that dismal night, to consult with the remaining chiefs about the properest means for avoiding the impending storm, gave birth to that meeting which we have already mentioned.

Xenophon calls a council.

As there was no time to be lost, the rest of the generals and captains were immediately summoned from their respective quarters to that where the heavy-armed men lay encamped; and they accordingly appeared, to the number of about one hundred, to whom Hieronymus the Elean, who was the eldest, addressed himself in words to this effect: "We have thought proper to convene you at this time of the night, to consider of some expedient to

^c Lib. iii. cap. 2, & seq.

which last, though it made him beloved by men of virtue and honour, yet exposed him to the treachery of designing men. He died in the thirtieth, and Agias and Socrates in the fortieth year of their age. As for

Menon the Thessalian, though he underwent the same fate with the others, yet he was a person of a quite different character; proud, ambitious, covetous, false, and treacherous.

extricate

extricate ourselves, if possible, from our present perilous situation; and desire Xenophon to impart to you what we have but just now heard from him." Upon which he spoke to them as follows:

"We are sensible that the king, and Tissaphernes, have caused as many as they could to be seized, and are no less desirous to get us into the same snare. It is therefore necessary to take all proper means, not only to prevent our falling into their hands, but even if possible, to get them into ours. The eyes of our army are fixed upon you; they will all lose their courage, if you appear disheartened; but if you rouse them to their duty, you need not doubt their following your example. You are their superiors, their generals, and guides; and as, in time of peace, you have the advantage of them in riches and dignities, your honour requires you to shew, that you excel them in war, in wisdom, courage, and even in labour. Our first step, therefore, in my opinion, should be to fill up all our vacancies, and to choose proper generals and captains in the room of those that are slain. There is no hope of succeeding in any thing without chiefs, and much less in war; and, as soon as you have appointed proper generals, I think it highly necessary to assemble, and spirit up the soldiery. You cannot but have observed how dejectedly they repaired to their quarters, and how heavy they appear upon their guard; so that we can expect no service from them while they are in this desponding condition; but if you can divert their thoughts from the dangers that threaten them, you will find them quite other men. You know, that it is neither number nor strength that ensures victory; but that the side, which, under the protection of the gods, behaves with the greatest resolution, is generally sure of it. I have also observed, that those who, in war, most dread to hazard their lives, commonly meet with an ignominious death; whilst those, who look upon death as common to all, but glorious to the brave, generally live the longer and happier, and often to a good old age. Upon all these considerations, I think this a proper juncture for us to act with a becoming intrepidity, in order to inspire our men to do the same."

Thus spoke the young Athenian hero, whose courage and wisdom were greatly applauded by all, but especially by Cheirifophus, the Lacedæmonian; upon which each body was ordered to choose a chief, who was to be introduced directly to the assembly. All this was done without loss of time; and Timasion, the Dardanian, was nominated

*His advice
applauded,
and followed.*

minated to succeed Clearchus; and Xenophon, his friend Proxenus; Xanthicles, the Achaian, was chosen in the room of Socrates; Cleanor, an Orchomenian, in the room of Agias; and Philysius in that of Menon. By this time day-light began to appear, and Tolmides, the crier, having assembled the soldiers, and the guard being set in their posts, Cheirisophus acquainted the army with the danger they were in, from the treachery of the Persians; and in a short but pathetic speech, exhorted them either to extricate themselves by a glorious victory, or by an honourable death.

*Cleanor's
counsel.*

He was seconded by Cleanor, who began with a display of the treachery and perjury of the king, Tissaphernes, and Arizæus; and with the manner in which they had trappanned Clearchus, and his four colleagues, into their butchering hands.

*Xenophon's
address.*

Xenophon stood up next, who, to inspire the army with fresh courage, appeared in a dress that was more fit for a conqueror than a combatant, but which, he said, would equally suit him, whether he conquered or died; and, with an intrepid air, spake to them, to this effect: "What Cleanor hath said of the treachery and perjury of the Persians, you are no strangers to; and it would be base and shameful in us to trust any longer to, or treat with them, after their horrid butchery of our five brave generals: but if we resolve to revenge their deaths with the points of our swords, we have reason to expect, that the gods will declare on our side, and crown it with success." He had hardly spoken these last words, when one of the soldiers, who stood near him, sneezed; which being taken for a good omen by the whole army, Jupiter was immediately adored as the gracious author of it. After which Xenophon observed, that since that god had declared on their side, they ought to engage themselves to make him suitable returns, as soon as they were got to a place of safety. He then desired all that were of the same opinion to hold up their hands; which was complied with by all, and the vows were followed with singing of the pæan.

*A good
omen.*

*Reasons for
a brave
retreat.*

After this Xenophon went on with his speech, in which he forgot nothing that could inspire them with intrepidity, and with a resolution to make a safe and glorious retreat into their native country, or die in the attempt. He reminded them, that the gods were not only bound in justice to assist them in it, but to punish their enemies for their perfidy; and gave them several instances, in which his countrymen the Athenians had, with a handful of
brave

brave and valiant men, cut in pieces whole armies of the Persians (T); and mentioned particularly the late victory they had gained, in favour of Cyrus: "And will you, said he, act less valiantly for yourselves than you did for him, especially after you have been witnesses of the enemy's cowardice, and how they fled from you at the first onset? As for Cyrus's dastardly troops, which have so basely abandoned us, did not you see them give way in the late action? and are not such shameful runaways rather to be wished in the enemy's army than in ours? I own we have no cavalry to oppose theirs; but then let us remember, that ten thousand horse are no more than ten thousand men; and, I think, we can fight more firmly upon our feet, than they upon their prancing horses; the only advantage of which is, that they can flee with greater speed upon them. If you think it a grievance, that we shall no longer have Tissaphernes for our guide, and the king to supply us with provisions, let it be considered how much safer it will be for us to be conducted by men of our own choosing, than by such a vile traitor; men that will share with us in the same dangers, and whose lives will be our security for their faithfulness: and as for provisions, will it not be better for us to get them by our valour, and to be our own carvers, than to buy them at such extravagant rates as we have done? If you are frightened at the difficulties of repassing the rivers, by what we have already experienced, I would have you consider how probable it is, that the Barbarians have purposely misled us: however, at the worst, it is but tracing them to their sources, and there you may ford them, without going up to the knees in water. The next thing I have to propose to you is, in what manner we may march, with the greatest security; and, if necessary, fight with the greatest advantage. And, first, I think we ought to burn all our carriages, the care of which will but retard our marches; the same I think of our tents and baggage, of which we should only

*Order of
the march.*

(T) One singular instance he there reminds them of, viz. of the prodigious army of the Persians, and their allies, who came to invade their capital, and were bravely repulsed: so that the Athenians having made a vow to sacrifice as many goats to Diana as they slew of the enemy, they could not find a sufficient number: whereupon they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year: which custom, he tells them, was still observed, in memory of that signal victory (1).

(1) Lib. iii. p. 201. Edit. 2. Hutchinson.

preserve that which is most necessary, either for war or for our provisions, that we may march on the more regularly. One successful victory will indemnify us; for the conquered, and what belongs to them, will be ours of course. One main point I must by no means omit: you know, that the Persians did not dare to attack us whilst we were under the conduct of such experienced generals as we then had; but since they have butchered them, and think us under a kind of anarchy, they will conclude, that we may be easily conquered: for this reason I think it highly necessary, that our present generals be more vigilant, and the soldiers more obedient and submissive; which may be effectually done, if you make an order, that every one of you shall assist the commander in punishing the stubborn and disobedient. By this means the enemy will find, that, instead of one Clearchus, we have recovered a thousand, who will not suffer a man to neglect his duty. If what I have proposed receives your approbation, let it be put in execution before the enemy appear. And if any of you, though a private centinel, hath any thing better to offer, let him do it without fear; for our preservation is a general concern (U)."

*Approved
of by the
whole ar-
my;*

He was silent; and Cheirifophus only said, that if there should be any necessity to add to what Xenophon had proposed, it might be done afterwards: "At present, (said he), let us who are of this opinion, ratify what he hath laid before us." Upon which they all held up their hands; and Xenophon concluded his speech in words to this effect: "It is now evident, that we ought to march to some place where we may supply ourselves with provisions; and I am informed, that there are many rich villages, not above twenty stadia from hence. Possibly we shall retreat with greater safety, if we dispose the heavy-armed men and baggage in a hollow square: let therefore each man take his post before the enemy appear, that when they approach us, he may have nothing to do but to engage them. Let Cheirifophus, the Lacedæmonian, command the front; let the two eldest generals command the flanks; and Timasion and me, who are the youngest, for the present take charge of the rear.

(U) We have contented ourselves with giving our readers the substance of this speech, rather than a full translation of it, which would have carried us too far; and by this we

have avoided entering into certain critical niceties, which, however proper in a regular version of this celebrated author, would not have been so in a work of this nature.

We

We may hereafter find occasion to improve this disposition; and if any of you can now offer any thing better, let him do it, or else approve of mine, by holding up his hands." Which they all did; and then he said: "You are now to depart, and execute what is determined. Whoever among you is desirous to return to his family, let him remember, that fighting bravely is the only means to effect it: whoever hath a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer: if any of you covets wealth, let him strive to overcome; for the victorious not only preserves his own, but is entitled to what belongs to the conquered."

Xenophon had no sooner ended, than they burnt their carriages, tents, and superfluous baggage, and were just sat down to dinner, when Mithridates appeared, with about thirty horse, and desired to speak to the Grecian chiefs. This man, who had formerly served under Cyrus, was sent by the king, as a fit person to sound their resolutions; and he, pretending the same friendship that he ever had, told them, that if he found them upon any salutary expedient, he would bring all his men with him, and join them. After a short consultation, Cheirisophus, in the name of the rest, told him, that their design was to make as safe and peaceable a retreat as they could; but that, if they met with any opposition, they were resolved to fight their way through it. Mithridates tried in vain to persuade them, that such an enterprize could not be carried on against the king's consent; his arguments rendered him the more suspected. Upon which they immediately resolved, that from that time they would never admit of any farther treaty or parley with the Persians, till they were got out of their dominions (X).

and put in execution. Mithridates appears.

As soon as they had dined, they began their march, and crossed over the river Zabatus, in the order that had been proposed by Xenophon, and their phalanx, which faced on the four sides, seemed to bid defiance to the enemy. They had not gone far before the Persian satrap appeared

Past the Zabatus.

(X) The Greek chiefs had a double reason for prohibiting all future intercourse with the Persians, since these turned such conferences to a double advantage, by penetrating into their counsels and resolutions, and inveigling their soldiers

away: and, even from this last conference with the Persian satrap, Xenophon tells us, that Nicarchus, an Arcadian captain, deserted to them that very night, with about twenty of his men (2).

(2) *Ibid.* p. 216.

again,

*Annoyed by
the Persi-
ans.*

again, at the head of two hundred horse, and four hundred light archers and slingers. They advanced, at first, as friends; but, as soon as they got within reach, they discharged a volley of arrows and stones; which greatly annoyed the Grecian rear, whose bows did not carry so far as the Persians. Xenophon seeing this, attacked them with his rear; upon which they betook themselves to flight, and being light-armed, easily kept out his reach: neither did their cavalry, who could shoot backwards from their horses, suffer the Greeks to separate too far from the main army, as it had wounded many of those who were the most forward in the pursuit; so that all the efforts of the satrap, served only to retard that day's march, which did not exceed twenty-five stadia. However, they reached, towards the evening, the villages which Xenophon had mentioned to them; and there Cheirisophus took the liberty of reproving him for having ventured to leave the main body to pursue the enemy, and exposing himself, without any probability of hurting them.

*Xenophon's
overflight;*

*and
advice.*

Xenophon, who was for turning this mischance to advantage, instead of palliating it, readily owned he had been mistaken: "But," added he, "we have reason to thank the gods, that, instead of their doing us any harm, they have only shewed us what we still wanted, to secure our retreat; for, since the Persians could so easily harass us, and yet keep out of the reach of our darts, it plainly points out, that we should furnish ourselves with some horse, to give them chase, whenever they appear again. We have a number of Rhodians, who are much better slingers than the Barbarians, and can throw leaden balls at them, instead of stones: let us, said he, form them into a body, and add such others of our men as are dextrous at that weapon. I have some horses among our baggage, there are some more left by Clearchus, and others taken from the enemy; let us pick out the best of them, and form them into a squadron, which may, in their turn, annoy the enemy in their flight." His proposal was readily agreed to; and that very night two hundred slingers lifted themselves into that squadron, and on the next morning fifty of them were mounted, and provided with cuirasses; and Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian, was appointed to command them. This new corps proved not only very necessary to repel the attacks of the Persians, but even to facilitate their march through a narrow valley, formed by a torrent; through which they were to pass the next day, and where they expected to have

*A squadron
of horse
formed.*

have been opposed by the enemy. Mithridates, however, did not appear till they had got out of it. He was then at the head of one thousand horse, and four hundred archers; and, highly flushed with his late success, which he had greatly magnified to Tissaphernes, had engaged, with those forces, to deliver up the Greeks to him. As soon, therefore, as these had advanced about eight stadia beyond the valley, they saw him advancing against them, at the head of his small army, expecting to have made a discharge upon them, without exposing himself to theirs. He had just begun to throw some darts, when Lycius's horsemen, at the signal given by the trumpet, fell furiously on the Persians, who were so terrified, that they fled, with all possible speed, to the valley. In this pursuit the Persians lost many of their foot, and about eighteen of their horse. The Greeks, at the same time, mangled the bodies of the slain, to create the greater horror in the enemy.

Defeat the Persians.

The Grecians having thus put the enemy to flight, continued their march, and came, at the close of the day, to the banks of the Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called Larissa (Y); and, on the next, after a six leagues

(Y) Bochart is of opinion, that the right name of this ancient city was Resen, the same that is said by Moses to have been built by Ashur, between Nineveh and Calah (1); and that the Greeks enquiring of the inhabitants what ruins those were, were answered, *לרסן*, Laressen; that is, of Resen, the L being the article of the genitive case, which not being rightly understood, they softened it into Larissa (2). His reason for that conjecture is, that no Greeks settled so far as these Assyrian parts till the time of Alexander's conquests, which did not happen till a long time after Xenophon's death. Others, however, make no scruple to style this city an ancient colony of the Thessa-

lians, as its Greek name imports, and as some of the learned men in Alexander's army discovered afterwards, from more authentic monuments.

As for the city itself, it was two leagues in circuit; and Xenophon adds, that it had been anciently inhabited by the Medes. The walls were twenty-five feet in breadth, and one hundred in height, built of brick, and the plinth of stone, and twenty feet high. It made the greatest resistance of any against the Persians, till an eclipse of the sun frightened the inhabitants into a surrender. Near the walls of the city stood a large pyramid, though different from those we have described, in treating of Egypt,

(1) Gen. x. 12.

(2) Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 23.

Tissaphernes's army increased;

but repulsed.

leagues march, came to an old uninhabited castle, which stood near the town of Mespila, likewise inhabited formerly by the Medes (Z). On the next day they marched four parasangs, during which they saw Mithridates, at the head of his own cavalry, to which he had joined the troops of Orontas, the king's son-in-law, and a body which had served under Cyrus, besides the army which the king's brother had brought to his assistance, and some other forces which he had obtained from that monarch; all which formed a considerable army. Some he placed against the Grecian rear, and others against their flanks; and, without venturing to attack them in form, contented himself with making a discharge of his darts and stones; whereupon the Rhodians and Cretans, who were disposed in platoons, and much more expert at their bows and slings, let fly whole volleys at them, with such success, that Tissaphernes, and the other divisions, were glad to retire out of their reach: so that the Greeks continued their march the remaining part of the day, without any farther skirmishes, the Persians still keeping at a great distance behind them (A).

Here

and much inferior, being only one hundred feet square, and two hundred in height; and into that structure ran a great number of Barbarians for shelter, from the neighbouring villages, at the approach of the Greek army.

(Z) The ruins of this city still retained a great deal of its ancient grandeur, and sufficiently shewed the magnificence of the Medish empire. The walls of it were six leagues in circumference, fifty feet broad, and one hundred in height; and stood upon a plinth of fine blue polished stone, beautifully variegated with shells, fifty feet thick, and as many in height. Here the Median queen is said to have taken refuge, when that empire was invaded by the Persians: it sustained likewise a

long and obstinate siege against them; and might, in all likelihood, have resisted all their force, had not the inhabitants, like those of Larissa, been seized with an unaccountable panic, struck into them, as they supposed, by Jupiter, which obliged them to surrender.

(A) Our author here observes, that the slings of the Rhodians carried farther, not only than those of the Persians, but even than most of their archers could sling their arrows. The Persian bows are long; so that, when their arrows were taken up, they proved of great service to the Cretans, who used them against the enemy; and, taking a great elevation, could reach them at a greater distance. Besides this, the Greeks found a good

Here they staid that day and the next, to supply themselves with provisions, of which they found great plenty, as well as with other necessaries; and, on the third, continued their march through an open country, whilst Tissaphernes followed at a distance, without shewing any inclination to attack them. However, the Greek chiefs found reason to alter their method of marching in an equilateral square, which they now saw was not a proper disposition for a retreating army; and, upon several occasions, might have exposed them to the enemy's attacks, if they had had the courage to make any (B). They therefore resolved to form six companies, of an hundred men each; these they divided into others of fifty each; and these again into others of twenty-five each; and appointed officers to command them. These captains, when the wings remained upon a march, staid behind, so as not to disorder the rear; and, when the sides of the square came again to be extended, filled up the centre, if the opening was narrow, with the companies of an hundred men each; if large, with those of fifty; if larger still,

A new disposition of their march.

good supply of bowstrings, and of lead to cast into balls, in those villages through which they passed; both which they successfully employed against the enemy (3).

(B) This inconveniency was more particularly found whenever the square body came to a narrow road, to a defile between hills, or in passing over a bridge; at which times the wings, were obliged to close, and the heavy-armed men consequently being forced out of their ranks, marched very uneasily, being squeezed so close, as to become almost useless.

On the other hand, when the wings came to extend themselves again, the men who before were forced out of their ranks, must divide, and consequently leave an opening in the centre, which could not but

dishearten those who were thus exposed; to say nothing of the confusion they commonly threw themselves into on the crossing over a bridge, where every man was eager to go before another. We may add, that all these difficulties not only exposed the troops to the enemy, had they been attacked, but likewise greatly retarded their march; whereas this new disposition was the most proper, both to accelerate it, and to dishearten the Persians from attempting to obstruct it. Some difficulties there are, in Xenophon's text, on this new method, which are not absolutely necessary to be discussed in this place; but these the curious will find sufficiently cleared up by a judicious translator, to whom we shall refer them (4).

(3) *Αναγὰς*. ubi supra.

(4) Spelman, vol. i. p. 220.

with those of twenty-five; so that the centre was always complete. Whenever, therefore, the army came to a defile or bridge, all confusion was prevented, by these officers bringing up the rear.

*Annoyed by
the Per-
sians.*

They made four marches according to this disposition; without meeting with any thing worthy notice; and, on the fifth day, perceived a royal palace, and a number of villages near it; the road lay over high hills, that reached down from the mountain, under which one of these villages was situated. They marched over the hills without interruption from the enemy's cavalry, which, from the nature of the ground, could not act; but suffered very much from their infantry, which had posted themselves upon the summits, and harassed them exceedingly as they ascended one hill, or descended another, their archers and slingers wounding great numbers, whilst those of the Greeks, not having room to extend themselves, but being mixed with those who guarded the baggage, became useless all that day. In this manner the Persian satraps continued, according to their usual discipline, to drive their troops on towards the enemy; if the Greeks advanced, they immediately retreated, and, as soon as those had rejoined their camp, renewed the attack: all these efforts did not hinder the Grecian army's march over three of those hills; after which they came to a village, where the governor of the province kept his magazines of provisions, such as corn, barley, wine, meal, &c. Here they halted three days, not only to procure a fresh supply, but likewise to take care of their wounded.

*Keep at a
distance.*

On the fourth day, as they descended into the next plain, Tissaphernes, with his army, appeared; which obliged them to encamp at the next village they came to; being unable any longer to maintain a running-fight, on account of their wounded, or of those who carried them and their arms. However, as they had encamped before the Barbarians could reach the village, they soon perceived the difference between attacking the Greeks in their posts, and harassing them in their march; so that Tissaphernes was forced again to retreat, and to keep to his usual distance of sixty stadia from their camp, for fear of being surprised by them in the dead of the night; and the Greeks, not thinking it expedient to pursue them, decamped also, and advanced about sixty stadia more from them; insomuch that they did not see each other either the next day, or the day after. On the fourth they appeared on an eminence, on which they had taken care to post

post themselves the night before, because it commanded the road through which the Greeks must pass. Hereupon Cheirisophus sent orders to Xenophon to advance with his targeteers to the front. But, he being unwilling to leave the rear exposed, came without them; and, observing that there was a passage to the top of the hill, above the enemy's post, offered himself to go, and dislodge them thence. Having received a reinforcement of targeteers from the front, and those that were in the centre of the square, he began to lead them up the hill, which they climbed with such swiftness, that it raised a great shout in both armies, each endeavouring to gain the top before the other.

It was on this occasion, that Xenophon gave a signal instance of his moderation as well as bravery: "Come on, said he, my brave soldiers; this is the last encounter we shall have with the enemy, and which will soon open to us the way into Greece." Here he was smartly taken up by a Sicyonian, named Soteridas, who told him, that he spoke at his ease, being on horseback, whilst he was quite foundered with lugging his shield. Xenophon no sooner heard him than he leaped from his horse; and, taking the shield in his hand, moved with double speed up the hill, encouraging the rest to follow him; which so exasperated the soldiers against the Sicyonian, that they made him take up his shield again. Xenophon remounted his horse, and led them on, till the cragginess of the hill obliged him to dismount again, whilst the Greek army from below encouraged him and his troops with their shouts; and, as soon as they had gained the top, they beheld with pleasure the cowardly Tissaphernes and Ariæus turning out of the road, and marching off with all the speed they could. At the same time Cheirisophus led his army down into the plain, and encamped for that night at a village, where they found plenty of all things, besides some other villages, at a small distance from the Tigris, full of provisions. Here they had, however, several of their men, who had ventured too far after plunder, killed by the Persians, whilst Tissaphernes attempted to burn some of the more distant villages.

*Xenophon's
bravery
and moder-
ation.*

*Puts the
Persians to
flight.*

By this time Xenophon and his men had joined the Greeks in the plain; to whom he addressed himself as follows: "You see that the Barbarians, by the hostilities they commit, and which we have forborn, acknowledge us masters of this country; and I think, said he, to Cheirisophus, that it would highly become us to free its poor inhabitants

*Speech to
the Greeks.*

New difficulties.

inhabitants from those incendiaries." "I am not of your opinion (replied he); and I think, that if we set fire to it ourselves, they will give over the sooner." Notwithstanding all this success, every day produced fresh difficulties: on the one hand, the plain before them was bounded by vast and inaccessible mountains; and on the other by the Tigris, which was here so deep, that their longest pikes could not reach the bottom of it: there were no vessels, or flat-bottomed boats to be seen upon it, nor any possibility of throwing a bridge over it. At length a Rhodian engaged to contrive a pontoon, upon which four thousand men might be wafted over at once, provided they furnished him with such things as he wanted, and gave him a talent for his reward. Being asked what materials he should want; he answered, only two thousand leathern bags, which might be easily procured, by slaying as many cattle, and blowing up their skins; these, when fastened to each other with proper girths, poised with stones let down into the water; and covered with fascines and earth, to prevent the men slipping down, would ferry over four thousand at one crossing. This project seemed very ingenious, the misfortune was, that there appeared some Persian cavalry on the opposite shore, which would not fail of breaking all these measures: the captains, therefore, came to a resolution of taking a contrary road from that they had gone, and of burning all the villages they left behind; by which means the enemy would be kept in suspense, not knowing which road they designed to take.

Uncertain how to steer their course.

While the soldiers were employed in getting a supply of provisions, the chiefs, still at a loss what to resolve, held a council; in which having severally examined their prisoners, concerning the countries that lay round them, they were informed that the south road led to Media and Babylon, through which they came; that the east road lead to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king was said to pass the spring and summer; the western, which lay over the Tigris, led to Lydia and Ionia; and the northern, which was over high mountains, led to the country of the Carduchi (C), a warlike and unconquered nation, which had defeated a Persian army of a hundred and

(C) These were the descendants of the ancient Scythians, who spread themselves all over these northern tracts, were a stout warlike people, and divided into a vast number of tribes. The Carduchi, who gave our Greeks here so much trouble

and twenty thousand men, none of which ever returned, the roads being impassable. The prisoners added, that whenever they were at peace with the Persian governor of the plain, there was then an intercourse between the two nations; and that having got over those barbarous countries, they would enter into the fertile plains of Armenia, of which Orontas was then governor, where they might either ford over the Tigris, or march round the spring head of that river, and from thence continue their route with ease and safety, which way they pleased. The Tigris being impassable on the west, they had no way left to march but northward over the mountains; being afraid lest the passes should be guarded by the enemy, they resolved to keep their march secret; and having offered the usual sacrifices, ordered the soldiers to go to rest, and to be ready to march on the first signal ^d.

Take the northern road.

The orders for marching were given a little before the last watch of the night; so that they had time to cross the plain whilst it was dark, and Cheirisophus, who commanded the van, was got to the summit of the first hills before he was perceived by the enemy. Xenophon brought up the rear at the head of the heavy-armed, which were the most dreaded by the Persians, though these did not attack them whilst they were going up the hill. When they had passed it, they followed their van into the villages that were dispersed in the vallies and sides of the mountains. The Carduchi betook themselves to flight with their wives and children, and gave the Greeks a fair opportunity of supplying themselves with plenty of provisions. They had, till now, flattered themselves, that they might, with ease, obtain a friendly passage through their

The Carduchi fly from them.

^d Xenophon, ubi supra, in fin. lib. iii.

trouble in their retreat, were, according to Strabo (1), better known afterwards by the name of Parthians; a nation which became such a terror to the Romans.

M. De Lisle, in his explanation of his map of Xenophon's retreat, gives several proofs, that they were the same with the present Curdes, their coun-

try the same which the Romans called Corduena, and the moderns now Curdistan (2); though it is probable, that the present tract which goes by that name is of much greater extent than that which the Carduchi then possessed, who only occupied the mountainous parts of it (3).

(1) Geogr. lib. xvi. ann. 1721, p. 87.

(2) Memoirs of the Royal Academ. (3) See the Map at the head of this Appendix.

*Xenophon
harrassed by
them.*

country, as both were enemies of the Persians; and therefore they called after them, and, by the tone of their voice, and other gestures, endeavoured to bring them to a friendly parley. But when they found them deaf to all their invitations and motions, Cheirisophus encamped his troops in the first villages he met with; but forbore meddling with any thing but such provisions as the army stood in need of. Xenophon, with his heavy rear-guard, fared much worse, suffering greatly from the craggedness of the roads, the difficult ascents and descents, and likewise from loose bands of the Carduchi, who harrassed them with volleys of darts and stones (D).

*Abandons
his super-
fluous bag-
gage.*

The Greeks, beginning to find what a dangerous task it would be to open a way through a country so craggy and mountainous, and a people so stout and fierce, came to a resolution to leave behind all their superfluous baggage, horses, slaves, and prisoners, which only served to clog and retard their march, and to keep many hands employed in the care of them, that might be of more service elsewhere, besides causing a greater scarcity of provisions. In consequence of this resolution the generals placed themselves in a narrow defile, where the army was to pass, and took from each soldier every thing that was superfluous or cumbersome, though they did not deprive them of any handsome captive, for whom they shewed a more than common fondness; and in this manner they continued their march, sometimes fighting and sometimes resting. The next day proving rainy and stormy, made it still more difficult. However they were obliged to march, because their provisions began to fail; and, as the passes through which their route lay were very narrow, they suffered still more from the Carduchi, who lay scattered on each side, and incessantly harrassed them. Cheirisophus, who led the van, which consisted of the light-armed, was frequently, on that account, obliged to halt, and stay for Xenophon, whose rear was made up of the heavy-armed.

*Still har-
rassed by
the Car-
duchi.*

(D) The Carduchi much excelled the Greeks in the use and strength of their bows, as those did the Persians. We are told, they were of such prodigious length, that they bent them with their feet; the arrows were in proportion, so

well tempered and keen, and darted with such violence, that no shield could resist them (1); so that, by being able to throw them at such a distance, they kept themselves out of the reach of their enemy.

(1) Vide Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. & Xenoph. ubi supra, lib. iv.

One day, instead of waiting for him, he marched on with uncommon speed, and encouraged his men to follow him: the rear, being thus left behind, was roughly handled; and lost, among many others, two of its bravest officers, viz. Cleonymus, a Lacedæmonian, and Bias, an Arcadian, the latter of whom had his head pierced quite through with an arrow.

*Xenophon's
rear suffer
by them.*

As soon as Xenophon had overtaken the van, which he did in the next plain, where they encamped, he went directly to Cheirisophus, and complained, telling him what two brave commanders he had lost, without being able to bring them off, or bury them. To this the Lacedæmonian answered, that his design was to gain the summit of a hill, before the Barbarians possessed themselves of it; since his guides assured him there was no other way but that for him to take. Here Xenophon, who had in the late encounter taken two prisoners, proposed to have them examined apart about it; which was immediately done: and one of them, notwithstanding all their threats of torturing him to death, declared that there was no other way, at least that he knew of none: whereupon, the other being called, and the first killed before him, acquainted them, that the reason of his obstinacy was, that he had a daughter married to a man who lived on the road which he concealed, and, at the same time, engaged to conduct them through it himself; assuring them, that it was passable even for sumpter-horses, but added, that it was commanded by an eminence, which, if not secured, would render the pass impracticable.

The army was made acquainted with this circumstance, and a commission, to get possession of this pass, was tendered to those who would voluntarily undertake it: upon which two brave Arcadians, named Agasias and Aristonymus, offering themselves, were appointed to conduct the enterprize: presently after which, two other chiefs, of equal merit, contested that post of honour with them, viz. Callimachus, the Parrhasian, and Aristeas of Chios; and were joined in the same commission. They had two thousand men under their command: Xenophon's guide was, likewise, delivered up bound to them; and it was agreed, that they should endeavour to gain the summit that night, and the next morning, by break of day, if they succeeded, give notice of it to the rest by sound of trumpet. Things being thus ordered, they marched, under the conduct of their guide; and, though it rained very hard that night, Xenophon marched, at the head of his rear, towards the passage in his front, in order to draw

*A pass
taken by
volunteers.*

*Xenophon
harassed
with huge
stones.*

the enemy that way, and conceal the motions of their detachment. But, as he was leading his men through a valley, in order to gain an ascent, the Barbarians rolled down stones of great weight and size, which, breaking in pieces, made it impossible for them to go farther; this was continued all that night.

*The pass
gained by
the van.*

In the mean time the volunteers, having taken a long compass, fell upon the enemy's guard as they were sitting round a fire; and, having killed some of them, and forced the rest down the precipice, imagined they had got possession of the summit; but, to their surprize, they found an eminence still above it, near which lay a narrow way where the guard sat; but that was possessed by the enemy, and, night coming on, they were obliged to continue where they were. A thick fog, the next morning, so effectually covered their march, that they surprized the enemy, who, however, proved so nimble, that they could not kill one of them. But they took care to sound the trumpet, to give notice to the rest of their own army; at which signal the whole body of light-armed men began to move towards them, and to gain the summit by different ways, some of which were so craggy and steep, that those who were above were forced to draw the rest up with their pikes; and, after much struggle and toil, joined the detachment of Agasias.

*Xenophon
greatly an-
noyed.*

*Repulses
the Barba-
rians over
three hills.*

Xenophon, and his heavy-armed rear and sumpter-horses, could not follow them up the steep ascent; but were forced to fetch the same compass that Agasias had done; so that the enemy, who were posted on an eminence above the road, kept continually annoying them with huge stones; which obliged his men to march in an irregular manner to avoid them. They had not gone far before they perceived the Carduchi on another eminence, which they were likewise obliged to pass; at the sight of whom the soldiers mutually encouraged each other to advance, which the Barbarians observing, betook themselves to flight, without shooting an arrow, or throwing a stone. They had no sooner gained this hill than they saw another before them, guarded by the enemy, which they also resolved to attack. However, for fear any of them should return to this they were on, and from thence annoy the sumpter-horses as they passed, Xenophon guarded it by a good detachment, which he committed to the care of Cephisodorus, an Athenian, and Archagoras, a banished Argive, two trusty captains; whilst he, with the rest of his rear, marched towards the other hill, which he gained in the same manner. There still remained a third, and
much

much steeper, viz. that on which Agasias, and his detachment, had surpris'd the enemy's guard; but this was likewise abandoned by the Barbarians, to the great amazement of the Greeks: but their design was, as they had observed from thence all that had pass'd before, to attack the rear as soon as they could.

They did so accordingly; and the brave Cephifodorus, with some other officers of equal valour, lost their lives in defence of their post; whilst his colleague, Archagoras, considering the danger of such a fruitless opposition, leaped down the precipice, followed by the rest of his men, who found means to join Xenophon's rear-guard, and acquainted him with what had pass'd on the tops of the hill. That general, seeing the enemy on the opposite eminence, took that opportunity to treat with them by an interpreter, and to demand his dead from them; to which they consented, on condition that he would not burn their villages. At length, after a fatiguing and dangerous march of seven days, through rocks, hills, and dales, harass'd all that time by the Barbarians, they arriv'd at a most delightful plain, where they found many fine houses, in which they quartered the troops, and great plenty of provisions, especially wine. Here also they prevail'd upon the Carduchi, out of whose territories they now were, to deliver up their dead in exchange of their prisoners; and those they buried with all the funeral honours that their present situation would permit.

*A truce
with them.*

*Get into a
rich plain.*

The Armenian plains they had now, with so much difficulty, got in sight of, would soon have revived their hopes of seeing, once more, their beloved country, had not the entrance into them been obstructed by the river Centrites, which is two hundred feet wide, and falls into a lake of vast extent. However, they staid there to refresh themselves, and enjoy that plenty and variety which the country yielded, and began to look upon their former hardships as at an end; but the next morning they were disagreeably surpris'd with the appearance of an army of horse and foot, drawn up on the other side of the river, on an eminence about three or four hundred feet from it, in battle-array, in order to oppose their passage. These were Armenians, Mygdonians, Chaldeans, and other auxiliaries, hired by Orontas, governor of that province. The only road the Greeks could discover led upwards, and seem'd to have been made by art; and the breadth of the river inducing them to believe it fordable,

*New diffi-
culty.*

*The impos-
sible Cen-
trites.*

they attempted to pass it there ; but they had not gone far before they found themselves obliged to return, and encamp on the bank of the river.

*Xenophon
reviews
their hopes.*

*A new ford
discovered.*

*The van
passes the
river.*

In this dismal situation they spent a melancholy night and a day, being neither able to move forward nor backward without imminent danger. At length Xenophon, who had learned, from his master Socrates, to strike out hopes from superstition, as well as philosophy, was, in some measure, relieved by a dream, in which he imagined himself in chains, and awoke with the pleasure of seeing them break of their own accord. He arose immediately, and went to communicate it to Cheirisophus, and the rest of the Greek chiefs, who were no less pleased with it, and, in thankfulness, offered sacrifices to the gods, wherein the victims seemed to confirm the favourableness of the dream. The army was soon after ordered to breakfast ; and, whilst Xenophon was eating his own, two young soldiers were brought to him ; for, whether eating or sleeping, access was never denied to any that came to communicate any matter of concern to him. These told him, that whilst they were gone to gather some fuel, they perceived two or three persons on the other side of the river, who were hiding some things, like bags of cloaths, in the cavity of a rock ; from which they concluded that they might safely ford over there, especially as the banks on the other side were inaccessible to the enemy's horse ; and that they had accordingly passed it, the water not rising above their middle. Xenophon, highly pleased with the news, immediately ordered a libation to be offered to the gods, who had discovered this passage to him, in confirmation of his dream ; and then conducted the two youths to Cheirisophus, where it was unanimously resolved, that they should forthwith follow the route which the gods had pointed out to them. This ford was about four stadia from the camp, whither the two youths conducted the army, Cheirisophus, with the light-armed troops, leading the van, Xenophon, with his heavy-armed, bring up the rear, and the sumpter-horses marching in the centre : in this order they were to cross the river at the ford. Here they saw the enemy's cavalry on the opposite shore, watching their motions, without being able to annoy them. Cheirisophus, who was crowned with a garland of flowers, first pulled off his cloaths, and, taking up his arms, commanded his van to do the same, and to march through the river in columns, some on his right and others on his left. The priests, who were pouring the

The blood of the victims into the waves, proclaimed, that they saw nothing but good omens; and the soldiers, and their women, were singing the pæan, in a kind of chorus, whilst they were entering the river.

In the mean time Xenophon and his rear, instead of following them in the same track, made a feint as if he designed to cross it at the place below, where they had lately attempted it; which had the desired effect on the enemy's cavalry on the other side, who, fearing to be surrounded by the Greeks, abandoned their posts, and fled towards the road that led from the river into the country. Whereupon Cheirisophus, who, with his van, had gained the shore, sent Lycius and Æschines, with the horse and targeteers under their command, in pursuit of them, who cried, as they went up the hill, "We will not be left behind, but will march up with you in a body." At the same time Cheirisophus advanced to the other body of the enemy, who seeing themselves abandoned by their cavalry, soon quitted the eminence that commanded the river, and fled. Xenophon perceiving, from the other side, that his stratagem had succeeded, returned to the army that was passing over; but, by this time, they perceived some Carduchian troops descending into the plain, as if designing to fall upon the rear: upon which he ordered his men to face about, and divided them into several small bodies of twenty-five men each, in order to march against them, while the hindmost men of every file posted themselves along the banks of the river.

The Carduchi seeing the rear weakened by the departure of those who escorted the baggage, came down with rapidity, singing as they marched; which being perceived by Cheirisophus, who knew that all was secure on his side, he sent some of his targeteers and slingers to the assistance of Xenophon, who no sooner observed their coming towards him, than he sent them orders not to enter the river, but to range themselves in two files, at a small distance from it; and that, when they saw him begin to pass, they should come forward, in the water, on each side, opposite to him, with their bows bent, and their slings pointed against the enemy, as if they designed to cross over. He next charged his own men not to quit their ranks in crossing the river, and not to fall upon the Carduchi till the trumpet gave the signal; after which he ordered the sumpter-horses, the women, and other retinue, to pass over. The Carduchi, being come near, discharged their bows and slings; but, as they had only been used to

*Xenophon's
stratagem.*

*Put the
enemy to
flight.*

*Get into
a fertile
plain.*

*Treat with
the treach-
erous Teri-
bazus.*

fight the enemy in the mountains, where they could retreat as fast as they pleased, they found themselves now so much at a loss how to engage them on the plain, that they were put to the rout almost upon the first blowing of the trumpet: so that, after the Greeks were all got safe across the river, they could still see the enemy flying. The army united about noon, and, in an inhabited plain, marched five parasangs, in order to reach a town where was a stately palace belonging to the satrap, and where most of the houses were adorned with turrets. Here they found a plentiful supply of all necessaries; and in two days more, or ten parasangs, they were got above the head of the Tigris; and in three more, or fifteen parasangs, came to the river Teleboas (E).

This country was called the Western Armenia, and was governed by Teribazus, a satrap, in such favour with the king, that, when present, he was the only person allowed to lift him upon his horse. He had formed a treacherous design to entrap and destroy the Greeks; the better to conceal which, he met them, at the head of a troop of horse, and desired a conference with their chiefs: which being agreed to, he told them, that he was willing to grant their army a free passage, and necessary provisions, in case they engaged to abstain from all hostilities: upon which a league was concluded, and sworn to, between them.

From thence they marched fifteen parasangs more in three days, Teribazus marching at the distance of ten stadia, and came, at length, to a royal palace, surrounded with many villages, abounding with provisions, and where a deep snow (F) obliged them to take their quarters in the adjacent

(E) We know but little of this river, its course, or any thing else, except that it is placed by our author, and the Byzantine geographer, near the spring-head of the Tigris, and runs through a fertile and delightful plain (1). The reader may see, by the map, that it crosses all the country of Armenia, and falls, at length, into the Euphrates, a little above the city of Zeugma.

(F) Although it may appear surprising, that this country, which lies between the thirty-seventh and fortieth degrees of latitude, should be liable to such excessive frosts and snows, yet it is no more than what all authors, both ancient and modern, affirm, particularly M. Tournefort, who hath been an eye-witness of it; and hath endeavoured to account for the snow lying on those high hills

(1) Idem, *ibid.* Steph. de Urb. in Voc.

adjacent villages, which supplied them with all things in great plenty, and even with victims, and wine of an exquisite flavour. Here they received intelligence from some of their stragglers, that there was an army encamped at some distance, which they had discovered by the light of the fires kindled about it: upon which the chiefs, judging it unsafe for their troops to be at such distance from each other, resolved to have them joined, and encamped abroad; but a fresh quantity of snow had fallen so deep on that night, that on the morrow Xenophon, who was one of the earliest abroad, could not perceive where the soldiers lay; and both they, and the sumpter-horses, were so benumbed with cold, that they could hardly be got upon their feet. Xenophon immediately took a hatchet in his hand, and with it cutting boughs from the trees, some of the rest followed his example; upon which they made large fires, anointed themselves with such oils and drugs as they had; till they were recovered from their numbness; and it being found dangerous to suffer them to lie longer in the open air, they were again sent to their former quarters in the villages. The chiefs dispatched a detachment, under the conduct of Democrates of Temenus, a proper person for such an expedition, to the mountains, whence their stragglers had seen the fires, and who, at his return, assured them, that he had not perceived any; but he brought a prisoner with him, belonging to Teribazus's army, who acquainted them, that the satraps were preparing to attack them at a defile in the mountains; being asked what forces they had, he answered, that, besides their own army, they had some mercenary troops of Chalybians and Toachians.

A new alarm, and deep snow.

Men and beasts benumbed.

Upon this report, the Greek chiefs resolved to secure that pass; and, leaving the camp under the care of Sophænetus, took the prisoner for their guide, and moved forward towards the place. As soon as they got over the mountains, and perceived Teribazus's camp, the targeteers, who were then foremost, gave a great shout, and ran towards it, without staying for the heavy-armed; which so alarmed the Barbarians, that they immediately betook themselves to such a precipitate flight, that few of them were killed, and only about twenty horses taken. They found in Teribazus's tent beds with silver feet, and

Secure an important pass, and put the Persians to flight.

near ten months in the year. in Spelman's note on Xenophon.
The reader may see it in that author's eighteenth letter, or

drinking

*March
through a
desert, and
cross the
Euphrates.*

*The van
encamps in
a village ;*

drinking cups, with some prisoners, who called themselves his bakers and cup-bearers ; all which they seized, and carried off. The Greeks sounded a retreat, and marched directly to their former camp, to prevent the Barbarians attacking it, and arrived at it on the same day. On the next morning they marched to gain the pass, before the enemy could have time to rally ; and marched forward, with guides, through deep snows ; and having, on the same day, passed the defile where Teribazus designed to have attacked them, they encamped. From thence they made a march of three days through a desert, and came near the head of the Euphrates, which they forded with ease, the water not rising above their middle : after which they went fifteen parasangs, through deep snows, in three days, the last of which proved the most fatiguing, the north wind blowing full in their faces. The snow was a fathom deep, and the cold so intense, that many of their slaves and horses died, besides thirty of their men. This was, at first, looked upon as a particular kind of disorder ; but they soon discovered, that there wanted nothing but good warm nourishment to recover them (G). Whilst Xenophon was taking that care upon himself, Cheirisophus arrived at a village about the close of the day, where he found some women drawing water at a well. These asked him, what troops those were, and whither they were going. To whom he answered, by his Persian interpreter, that they were sent by the king to the satrap : upon which they replied, that the satrap's palace was about a parasang farther. Night coming on, he followed them into the village, with all that could come up, and encamped there that night.

(G) Xenophon, who observed great numbers of his men lying on the ground, asked the nature of their complaints, and was answered by some who were acquainted with the nature of their distemper, that it was called the bulimy ; a disease which, Galen tells us, causes a violent craving for victuals, makes men lose the use of their limbs, turn pale, and fall down ; while the ex-

tremities are numbed, the stomach oppressed, and the pulse is scarcely felt (1) ; but being told, that if any refreshment was given to them, they would rise again, he instantly went to the baggage, and got what provisions he could, and divided among those who laboured under the distemper ; upon which they soon found themselves able to resume their march.

(1) Vide Hutchins. et Spelm. Not. in Xenophon.

Xenophon, and his rear, who could not keep up with them, were obliged to encamp in the open air, without fire or victuals; insomuch that several of them died with hunger and cold, and the rest were quite exhausted and spiritless. Some of them lost their sight by the glaring of the snow, and others their hands and feet by the cold. The first were, indeed, relieved, by wearing something black over their eyes, the others by keeping their limbs in a constant motion, and by putting off their shoes at night (H). But the greatest of all evils was their being dispirited to such a degree, that several of them laid themselves down by the side of a fountain, where the snow was melted round, and protested, that they would stir no farther, but die there. Xenophon, being informed of this, went forthwith to persuade them to follow the army; and told them, that the enemy was at hand, a detachment having surprised some of their horses and baggage; but neither his persuasions nor threats could get any thing from them, except that their lives were at his disposal, and that he might kill them, if he pleased; for they were not able to proceed. His concern, however, lest they should be surprised and cut in pieces by the Persians, who were advancing in great numbers, made him try to strike a terror into the Barbarians; and, taking such of his men as had still courage and resolution enough left to follow him, he marched, and attacked them, as they were quarrelling about some booty they had taken; causing the invalids all the while to strike their pikes against their shields, and to shout incessantly; which so alarmed the enemy, that they threw themselves into the valley through the snow, and were heard of no more.

and Xenophon in the open air; and in great distress.

The Greeks utterly dispirited.

Barbarians put to flight.

Xenophon, with the rest of his little victorious body, returned to his invalids, and promised, that they should receive some relief by the next morning; but, before he had moved four stadia forward, he found others in the same condition, lying on the snow, starving with cold

(H) This, it seems, they were forced to do, because those that slept with them on, found the latchets pierce their flesh, and their shoes stick close to their feet; for their old ones being worn out, they were forced to make use of what they called carbatines, or sandals, or rather perhaps shoes made of raw hides (2): and these so damaged their feet, that they were neither able to stand or go.

(2) Idem, *ibid.*

*Encamp in
the vil-
lages.*

*A fresh
supply.*

and hunger, and without any guard. These he likewise assisted; and, as soon as they were able to rise, they acquainted him, that the van-guard did not advance; and, being informed of their reason for halting, he moved towards them, and, on the next day, according to his promise, sent some of the van-guard to fetch the sick and invalids, who were very numerous: and, by this means, the whole army was re-united, to their no small joy. It being the opinion of their chiefs, that they might be quartered in the villages, Cheirifophus staid with his van, and the rest were distributed in the neighbourhood, where, they found plenty of all provisions, and spent seven whole days in such feasting and jollity, as, they thought, made them ample amends for all the fatigues and hardships the had undergone (I).

Xenophon having, by his singular moderation and generosity, gained the affection of the bailiff of the village, that officer not only discovered to them a large reserve of wine hid underground, which proved very acceptable to the soldiers, but presented some very fine horses (K) to the

(I) The houses here were, it seems, built after a different form than they had hitherto seen, and were all underground. The entrance into them was like the mouth of a spacious well, at which they went down by a ladder, into the apartments below, which they found very large, and filled with goats, sheep, cows, fowls, with their young, &c. but those had a particular entrance dug for them, and had their proper food and fodder stored in with them. Here they likewise found plenty of wheat, barley, pulse, beer in jars, in which the malt was still floating upon the brim, with reeds of different sizes, and without joints: these last any that were dry put to their mouths, and sucked the liquor with them, which was very

strong, if not diluted with water, and exceeding pleasant to those that were used to it. Our author calls it, *οἶνος κριθῶν*, literally barley-wine; such, as Herodotus (3) tells us, the Egyptians used instead of wine; and the invention of which is attributed to Osiris, or the Egyptian Bacchus (4).

(K) These horses were of so excellent a breed, that the whole country, which they were told was called Armenia, paid their tribute to the king in them. They were less, indeed, than those of Persia, but had more mettle, were finer shaped, and more fleet. Xenophon, taking the bailiff with him to the village of the vanquished, visited every quarter, where his own men were in the height of feasting and mirth; the tables were covered

(3) Euterpe.

(4) Bibl. lib. i.

the subaltern officers; and engaged likewise to be their guide, till they arrived at another nation; which he accordingly did, during the three first days journey, and would probably have gone farther, had he not been struck by Cheirisophus, for not leading the army to some villages, rather than through an uninhabited plain; whereupon he disappeared that night. This ill treatment of the bailiff caused a difference between Cheirisophus and Xenophon, though probably the only one they had during their whole march. They had taken a son of the bailiff's as a pledge for his fidelity, who being now left behind, in charge of Episthenes, that commander took such a liking to the youth, that he obliged him to go with him into Greece.

A difference between Cheirisophus and Xenophon.

After a route of seven days, in which they marched five parasangs a day, they crossed the river Phasis (L), which is about an hundred feet broad; and from thence, after ten parasangs more, they perceived a mountain before them, the passage over which was guarded by Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians. Cheirisophus, who still led the van, seeing them thus advantageously posted, halted, till the companies were advanced to the front, and drawn up in a line; as soon as the rear was come up, he assembled the captains, and spoke to this effect: "You see, that the Barbarians are possessed of the pass over the mountain; and we must now consider, whilst the soldiers are taking some refreshment, whether we had best attempt the passage to-day, or put it off till to-morrow." "My advice (said Cleonor) is to attack the enemy

Cross the Phasis.

with lamb, kid, pork, veal, fowl, and plenty of bread, some of wheat, and others of barley. When they came to that of Cheirisophus, they found them in the same jovial way, crowned with garlands made of hay, and attended by Armenian boys, in Persian dresses: so that there was nothing to be seen through the whole Greek army but feasting and jollity, during their stay there.

(L) So our author calls it, *Φάσις ποταμός*; but it cannot be supposed to be that which falls into the Euxine sea, and famed for its breed of pheasants; but rather, as most moderns think, the Araxes, which crosses Armenia from west to east, and falls into the Caspian sea (1), whose impetuous course is so boldly described by Virgil,

—pontem indignatus Araxes.
Æn. viii.

(1) See De Lisle's Map, at the beginning of this Appendix; *Re-traite des 10,000*; Spelman, &c.

*Xenophon's
pleasant
advice.*

*Cheirisophus's
smart an-
swer.*

*Climb up
the hill.*

as soon as we have dined, lest our delay should increase their confidence, and give them time to get assistance." Xenophon was of his opinion, that, if they must needs fight the enemy, they ought to lose no time; "But (added he) might we not go over the mountain without striking a stroke? It appears to be above sixty stadia in length, and the enemy only guards one part of it; might not we therefore find out some other ascent, which, though more difficult, may yet be less dangerous? The surest way for an army, seems to me to be that where it hath no foe to encounter; and that may be done by stealing a march in the night, and taking a compass about." Then, addressing himself to Cheirisophus, with a smile, "The Lacedæmonians (said he) are naturally made for such enterprizes, and inured, from their childhood, to such furtive exploits: so that, instead of a dishonour, you reckon it a duty to steal those things which the law hath not debarred you from. And in order to teach you to steal with greater dexterity and secrecy, your laws have provided, that those who are caught in the fact shall be whipped. This is therefore the time for you to shew how far your education hath improved you; and to take care, that our stealing this march be not discovered." To this Cheirisophus replied in the same gay humour, "That the theft now in question being of a public, and not of a private nature, the Athenians, especially those that enjoy the greatest dignities, are much more expert at it, who can rob the public treasury, notwithstanding the danger they run. So that this will be a fit opportunity for them to display the effects of their education." Upon the whole, it was resolved, as the mountain was far from inaccessible, that a detachment should be dispatched that very night to take possession of it: which was accordingly done; and Xenophon offered to be one of them; but Cheirisophus, unwilling that he should leave the care of his rear, other chiefs were nominated to that enterprize, viz. Aristonymus, Aristæus, and Nicomachus, at the head of the light-armed, who were ordered, as soon as they had gained the top, to give notice of it, by lighting fires. After they had dined Cheirisophus led the whole army within ten stadia of the enemy, as if he designed to march that way.

The enemy no sooner perceived the detachment possessed of that post, than they lighted fires, and continued under arms all night; and, as soon as it was day-light, Cheirisophus marched directly to that pass which was guarded
by

by them, whilst those who had gained the top came down to assist him in the attack. The Barbarians, finding themselves charged on both sides, made a stouter defence than usual; neither did they give ground till they had lost a good number of their men; so that the field was covered with their broad shields, which the Greeks despising, cut into small pieces. When they had gained the ascent, and offered the usual sacrifices, they reared a trophy on the place, and marched into the plain, where they found villages stored with all sorts of provisions. From thence they marched into the country of the Taochians, making thirty parasangs in five days; but began to find that provisions were like to fail, for the Taochians who inhabited rocks and caves, had conveyed their cattle and other provisions thither; so that there was no coming at any, without attacking them in those high and almost inaccessible places. Cheirisophus, soon after perceiving several of those Barbarians on an eminence, sent a detachment through a defile which he supposed led thither, but being surrounded with precipices, could not be attacked on all sides at once. The companies climbed up, but were annoyed with the large stones that were rolled down the hill, and broke the ribs, arms, and legs, of the soldiers.

Gain the ascent.

Come into the country of the Taochians.

Annoyed by them.

Xenophon coming up with his rear, Cheirisophus shewed him the danger and difficulty of gaining that height, without which they must not expect to find any fresh supply of provisions: Xenophon asked him, what those Barbarians would do after they had flung down all the stones they had: "Till then (said he) one part of the ascent, which seems about an hundred feet in length, hath groups of pine-trees on both sides, behind which our men may shelter themselves from their stones; and, when these cease, the rest, which is not above fifty feet, must be ascended without loss of time." As he spoke to men resolved to gain the mountain, or die, there was no small emulation between the commanding officers, who should get first to the top; after much struggle between them, Eurylochus passed the rest, and had the glory of the action; for, when he had reached the place, the enemy ceased opposing them; and men, women, and children, flung themselves down headlong with such fury, that Æneas, a Symphalian, shocked at the dreadful spectacle, having unhappily endeavoured to stop one of these furious creatures from following the rest, was dragged himself down the precipice, and both were dashed in pieces. The Greeks made few prisoners, but carried off a great number

Their furious despair.

Route through several barbarous countries.

ber of sheep, oxen, and asses; and then continued their route into the country of the Chalybians (M), and marched fifty parasangs in seven days; for, being terribly harassed, and having no other provisions than what they took from the Taochians, they were glad to make all possible haste out of their country. At the end of the seven days, they came to the river Harpagus, which they found to be four hundred feet wide, falling into the Araxes. After they had passed it, they marched through some parts of the country of the Scythians; and, in four days march, or twenty parasangs, arrived at some villages, where they halted three days, to get a fresh supply of provisions.

After this seasonable refreshment, they came, in four days march, or twenty parasangs, to a large and well inhabited city, called Gymnias. Here they were met by a messenger from the governor of the country, who offered to conduct them through the country of his enemies; he promised, in five days, to bring them to a place from whence they should see the sea; and, in case he did not, consented to be put to death. He conducted them accordingly; and, wherever they went desired them to lay all waste with fire and sword; by which they found, that he came rather with that view than out of friendship. They arrived, on the fifth day, at the holy mountain called Teches, where, as soon as the van-guard had gained the top, and were in full view of the sea, they set up such shouts, as made Xenophon and his rear-guard conclude, that they had been attacked by an enemy. He was then engaged with some Barbarians, who had fallen on his rear,

*Come in
view of
the sea.*

(M) These, which Diodorus Siculus calls Chalcideans (3), were the most valiant people the Greeks till then had met with. They were fierce and warlike, equally able to engage on the plains as on the mountains: they followed the Greeks all the way through their country, and terribly annoyed them in their march.

We can only observe here, that they were a different nation from those which Xenophon mentions in the sequel (4). They wore linen corslets that

reached below their navel, and, instead of tassels, thick twisted cords: they wore also greaves and helmets; and, at their girdle, hung a short falchion, not unlike those of the Lacedæmonians, with which having cut the throats of those they conquered, they afterwards cut off their heads, and carried them in triumph. They commonly began to sing and dance as soon as they were perceived by the enemy. Their pikes were fifteen cubits long, and with only one point.

(3) Bibl. lib. xiv.

(4) Lib. v

to revenge the havock they had made through their country: these Xenophon soon put to flight; but, finding the shouts of the van-guard grow louder, he hastened to Cheirifophus's assistance; and, upon coming nearer, heard them distinctly cry out, *thalatta! thalatta!* that is, *the sea! the sea!* This not only dispelled their fears, but made them move forward with uncommon eagerness, till, the whole army being joined on the top of the mountains, the chiefs and soldiers embraced and congratulated each other with tears of joy. Here they began to rear a high monument of stones, by whose order is not known, upon which they placed a great number of shields, made of raw ox-hides, taken from the enemy, in memory of this day, the happiest they had met with in their long march. Their next care was to shew their gratitude to their guide, whom they dismissed with thanks, and a considerable present (N), after he had shewed them the village where they were to quarter next, and the road that led into the country of the Macronians, through which they afterwards passed, making ten parasangs in three days.

Erect a trophy on the mount.

But, from the first day's march, they saw themselves strangely hemmed between a ridge of high mountains on one side, and a river on the other; on the opposite banks of which they beheld the Macronians, well armed, and ranged in battle-array, ready to obstruct their passage, and throwing large stones, which, though they could not reach them, shewed the uncommon eagerness they were in to attack and destroy them. The river, which was the boundary between the two nations, had its banks lined with trees, not large, but growing almost close to each other; these they immediately cut down, that they might the sooner get from that place. There happened to be a targeteer in Xenophon's rear, who acquainted him, that, having being sold to the Athenians from his youth, and ignorant of his native country, he had some notion, that he was of Macronian extract; and therefore begged, that he might be allowed to confer with them; which being granted, he asked them why they drew themselves up in a hostile manner. To which they replied, Because you come to invade our country. Upon this the general ordered him to tell them, that they had no such design; but

Opposed by the Macronians.

(N) Which consisted of a public stock: besides which, he desired the soldiers to give him some of their rings; which which were taken out of the many of them did.

*Make a
treaty with
them.*

*Come to
Colchis.*

*Form a
new dispo-
sition.*

that, having made war against the Persian king, they only desired a friendly passage through their territories; in their return home. Being asked, whether the Greeks would give them sufficient security for that, they answered, that they were ready both to give and take it. Upon which a treaty was immediately concluded and ratified (O); and the Macronians came, in a friendly manner, and assisted the Greeks in felling the trees, to facilitate their passage; and, having supplied the army with plenty of provisions, conducted them, in three days march, to the Colchian mountains (P).

One of them, that lay in their route, though large, yet appearing to them far from being inaccessible, they immediately resolved to attempt it by their phalanxes, because they saw it defended by the Colchians; but the difficulty which Xenophon foresaw would attend it in some of those ascents, where the line must be broken, which might dishearten their men, made him propose a new disposition; which was to make the heavy-armed march in separate columns of one hundred men each; by which means they might gain the top by different roads, without incommoding one another, or exposing themselves too far, and thence pour down their forces upon the Barbarians, and surround them on all sides; if any of the columns should be annoyed by the enemy, the other might come to its assistance; and the summit being once gained by any of them, they should not fail to put them to flight, as they had hitherto done.

His proposal was readily agreed to by all the chiefs; and eighty companies of heavy-armed, of one hundred men each, were immediately formed, whilst the light-armed were disposed on the wings and centre; after which Xenophon, marching through their ranks, from

(O) The ceremony of this ratification, our author tells us, was done by an exchange of spears, the Macronians sending one of theirs to them, and receiving one of the Greeks in its stead; which was their method of pledging their faith (1).

(P) We have hitherto followed our author through vast countries, the greatest part of

whose inhabitants are scarcely known to us but by his history, and begin now to tread upon classic ground, as a late author rightly terms it (2), where almost every river, mountain, and city, hath been signalized by the actions of the Greeks and Romans, and more particularly in their writings.

(1) Ibid, lib. iv. ad fin.

(2) Spelman in eund. ibid.

the right to the left, encouraged them with these words : " The enemies you see before you are the only obstacle we have now left to encounter, in our return to the place whither we have been so long hastening ; and them, if possible, we ought even to eat alive." Upon which the soldiers made their usual vows, sung the pæan, and began their march. Cheirisophus and Xenophon advanced at the head of the targeteers, who extended beyond the enemy's line ; and these marched to receive them, some filing in haste to the right, some to the left, leaving a void space in the centre. This being observed by the Arcadians, commanded by Æschines, they no longer doubted but they fled from them ; and, hastening their march with all speed, were the first who gained the summit. They were soon followed by the targeteers, commanded by Cleonor ; upon which the enemy began to give ground, and betook themselves to flight, by different roads ; which gave the Greeks an opportunity of encamping in several villages full of all sorts of provisions.

*Xenophon's speech.**Put the Colchians to flight.*

Here it was that the soldiers, finding great plenty of honey, of exquisite taste and flavour, eat it in such quantities, that they were seized with a strange giddiness, some wallowing upon the ground like men drunk, others being seized with a kind of phrensy (Q), inasmuch that the ground seemed like a field of battle covered with dying men, every symptom appearing mortal to those who beheld them. These symptoms, however, went off in about twenty-four hours, generally terminating in a violent vomiting and purging ; which weakened them so much, that for several days they could scarce stand, though they recovered their senses the next day : at length they recovered their strength likewise ; and, having made seven parangs in two days march, they arrived on the third at Trebizond, a city situate on the south-coast of the Euxine

*A strange effect of honey.**Arrive at Trebizond.*

(Q) This disorderly effect is, in some measure, accounted for by Pliny (3), and farther explained by Tournefort, who was upon the spot (4) ; the former of whom says, that this honey is called *mænomenon*, from its causing a kind of madness ; and adds, that it is gathered by the bees from the flower of a plant called *rhododendros*. The latter describes two flowers he hath seen there, which he supposes to be of the same nature, if not the very same, because the people of the country look upon the honey gathered from them to produce the effects mentioned by Xenophon.

(3) Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxi. cap. 13.

(4) Letter xix.

sea (R); and found themselves in a place of safety, after a long and arduous march. The Trebizontines furnished them, all the time of their stay, which was about a month, with all sorts of provisions; presenting them with oxen, and other victims, besides plenty of meal and wine.

*Gymnic
games cele-
brated.*

Here the Greek chiefs made it one of their first cares to pay their thanks and vows to the gods, to whom they ascribed their success, and who had inspired them with that courage which had enabled them to overcome such obstacles and misfortunes. The gymnastic games, which succeeded their sacrifices, augmented the joy as well as magnificence of the solemnity; and these were celebrated on the mountain on which they were encamped, which had a declivity towards the sea-side, and the barrier was placed near the altar where they had sacrificed (S). The whole was conducted with no less emulation and dexterity in the actors, than satisfaction to the spectators.

*An old sol-
dier's bold
speech.*

These diversions and feasting being ended, the chiefs called an assembly, to deliberate what method they should take to reach their country, when an old foldier spoke to the following effect: "I am already so fatigued with getting

• Xenophon, ubi supra, in fin. lib. iv.

(R) This famed city, anciently called Trapezus, and since Trebizond (and once the metropolis of a small and short-lived, though famed, empire, of which we shall have occasion to speak in some of the subsequent volumes), is supposed to have been a colony of the Sinopians, though in the country of the Colchians; but was only a station for ships to ride at anchor in, till the emperor Adrian built a port on the east side of it (5). It is now called, by the Turks, Platanæ, and hath been much neglected ever since it came into their hands (6).

(S) These games, which

were committed to the conduct of Dracontius, a Spartan exile, consisted of several races, one of them run by boys, most of them their prisoners; the next by sixty Cretans, mounted on their cars, and running in front; others were of single horses, which ran to the sea-side, and turning there, came up again to the altar: many of them rolled down the steep descent, but, upon their return, could hardly keep up a footpace. To these they added wrestling, boxing, and other martial as well as athletic exercises; all which afforded no small delight to their generous hosts the Trebizontines (7).

(5) Vide Arrian. Peripl. Pont. Euxin. xvi. et al.

(7) Tournefort, Letter xi. Xenoph. ubi supra, in fin. lib. iv. De his Lud. vide etiam Potter Archæol. Græc. lib. ii. cap. 21. Burnettii Dissert. et al.

ready

ready my arms and baggage, with marching, fighting, and watching, that I ardently desire, since we are come to the sea, to take the advantage of it, and sail homeward, as Ulysses did, and get to my country sleeping, and at my ease." His plain and blunt speech was applauded with a universal shout: and all the army expressed the same desire. Upon which Cheirifophus told them, that, his friend Anaxibius being admiral of the Spartan fleet, he would readily go, if they desired it, and engage him to send him back, with a sufficient number of vessels to transport them to their several homes; so that they had nothing to do but wait his return, which he promised should be very speedy. His proposal was unanimously agreed to; and he was accordingly deputed, and set sail immediately. As soon as he was gone, Xenophon spoke to them about providing for their safety, and a supply of necessaries for the army; which last he told them the city of Trebizond was neither able to furnish, nor they in a condition to purchase, their money being now almost exhausted: he therefore advised them to make inroads into the country, during their stay, but by no means to venture without guides, and a good escort, and not to suffer themselves to straggle from each other, in pursuit of plunder, lest they should fall a prey to the enemy. He farther proposed, that none should be allowed to go upon these expeditions, without express commission from their chiefs; and that those that went should signify the places where they intended to make their inroads, that they might, in case of need, be succoured and assisted by those that staid behind. These, and some other wise regulations, he offered to the assembly for their approbation, which were unanimously agreed to by all the soldiers (T); after which they nominated such as should set forward into the enemy's country, whilst the

Cheirifophus's advice.

Xenophon's advice.

(T) As we have brought the Greek army out of all their difficulties and dangers, we shall content ourselves without giving our readers a short account of the most material transactions which happened to them till their retreat was completed, without entering into that minute detail which our author hath, and which we think not so necessary as it was whilst

they travelled through the countries of powerful and inveterate enemies, through deserts, and over almost inaccessible mountains; and were forced to fight their way, under all imaginable disadvantages; and where it was necessary to give a full view of the wisdom, conduct, and bravery, by which they extricated themselves out of them.

rest were ordered to keep strong guards round the camp, to prevent any reprisals^f.

*He secures
some ships.*

The next thing he offered to their consideration was, that, in case Cheirisophus should not be able to bring a sufficient number of vessels, it was highly requisite they should secure some more from thence: "For, (says he), if we are already supplied with them when he arrives, we shall have the greater number to transport us; and, if he comes without any, we shall make use of those we have secured." He therefore advised to make sure of all the vessels that arrived at Trebizond, to set a guard on them, and maintain the mariners at the public charge. This being also agreed to, the last thing he proposed, in order to provide against all events, was, to oblige the inhabitants of the maritime towns, in their route, to repair the roads, that, in case they should not have a sufficient number of ships, the rest of the army might march with more ease, the roads being at that time so bad, as to be, in many places, hardly passable; and this, said he, they will be ready enough to do, either out of fear, or desire to be rid of us. This last proposal was rejected by the whole soldiery, who were not inclined to go by land: nevertheless Xenophon, without putting it to the vote, sent immediate word to those cities, that the Greek army would shortly march through their territories; and that, if the roads proved good, they would the sooner leave their country.

*Xenophon
orders the
roads to be
repaired.*

*Plunder
the Drili-
ans.*

*Met with
a repulse.*

Whilst they were procuring ships from the Trebizontines, against whom it would have been the highest ingratitude to commit hostilities, Xenophon led out one half of the army against the Drilians, leaving the rest to guard the camp, because the Colchians were encamped in great numbers on an opposite eminence. The guides did not conduct them to such places where provisions were easy to be got, being in friendship with them, but to some other of those territories, by whose inhabitants they had been ill-treated, who were fierce and warlike, and where they could get nothing but by fighting, and climbing up steep hills. Besides, the Drilians had set fire to all the places that were easy of access; so that they found only some oxen, hogs, and small cattle, that had escaped the fire. They attempted, likewise, a place which was styled their metropolis; but which proved so strong, and well defended, that they met with a severe repulse, and were galled by the enemy in their retreat. Xenophon, however, being

^f Idem. *ibid.* lib. v.

assured that the place was well stored with provisions and plunder, resolved upon taking it; and with great labour, difficulty, and the bravery of his men, gained his point; but was surprised to find there was a strong citadel; from which the garrison sallied out, and wounded a great number of his Greeks. They were harassed still more in their retreat through the streets of the place; so that he found no better expedient to secure it, than by setting the houses, ramparts, tower, and fort on fire, to keep the enemy employed. They were in no less danger next day, when they took the road down the steep hills with the plunder they had taken; and Xenophon was again forced to use all the policy he was master of, to avoid the ambushes and pursuit of the enemy: so that it was with the greatest difficulty and danger, as well as some loss, that they got safe to their camp with the few provisions they had.

*Harassed
in their
retreat.*

All this while neither Cheirisophus returned, nor were the ships they had secured sufficient to transport them, Not being, therefore, able to subsist longer there, they resolved to divide the army, and to put on board the vessels all the sick and wounded soldiers, and women, whilst the remainder took their march along the sea-coast: after three days, the roads having been mended, they arrived at Cerasus, a colony of the Sinopians, in Colchis, where they disposed of their slaves, and made a distribution of of the money to the men, the generals reserving only the tenth part for an offering to the Delphic Apollo and the Ephesian Diana. Here also, their little fleet being arrived, they resolved to review the remainder of their army; and found, that of between ten and eleven thousand men, of which it consisted when they accompanied Cyrus to Babylon, they had still eight thousand left, after the many disasters they had undergone during so long and dangerous a march.

*Divide
their army.*

Here, having staid ten days to refresh themselves, one part pursued their course by sea, and the other by land; and these last arrived at the confines of the Mosynocians (U), where Xenophon, taking advantage of a war which

(U) Signifying the same as which Pomponius Mela tells Turricolæ, which name the us were made of wood (2). Greeks gave them on account They inhabited along the coasts of their living in towers (1), of the Euxine sea, and were

(1) Vide Dion. Perieget. ver. 776. Eustat. Diod. Sic. Bibl. lib. xiv.

(2) De Situ Orb. lib. i. cap. 19.

*Ally with
some of the
Mosynœci-
ans.*

which they were then waging with their neighbours, about a strong city which they called their metropolis, chose to enter into a friendly alliance with them, rather than to engage the whole nation, and assisted them in taking that place, and to defeat those who opposed them. In this encounter the enemy's king, who commanded in one of the wooden towers, situate on an eminence, chose to be burnt, with all that were in it, rather than surrender. The Greeks found great plenty of provisions in the city (X); and, being well refreshed, they went forward, after having resigned the place to those Mosynœcians who had assisted them in taking it; and, as they advanced, found most of the other towns abandoned, or ready to surrender. These stood at about eight stadia, more or less, asunder; and yet so hollow and mountainous was the country, that they could call to each other, and be heard. The nations, thus subdued, were remarkably savage and brutal (Y). The Greeks were eight days in marching through

more barbarous than any of the nations they had gone through. They had shields made of white ox-hides, with the hair on, and shaped like an ivy-leaf; they held a spear six cubits long, in their right hand, with a point on the upper part, and a round ball at the bottom, all of the same wood. They wore thin vests, which did not reach quite to their knees; their helmets were made of leather, from the middle of which arose a tuft of hair, braided to a point, like a tiara; and their battle-axes were made of iron.

So proud and fierce they were, that when one of the Greek chiefs was sent to enquire of them, whether they would let them pass through their country as friends or enemies, they answered, they were ready for either. However, as they were then at war with their neighbours, Xeno-

phon, by his address, and promise to assist them, brought them to a friendly treaty, in which they also promised to assist and conduct the Greeks.

(X) Among them the bread, our author was told, was baked the year before, the new corn being laid up in straw; they likewise found dolphins pickled in jars, others filled with their fat, which they used instead of oil. Their garrets were filled with chefnuts, which they boiled, and eat instead of bread; and, in their cellars, was a sort of wine, which, when unmixed, was so rough, that it tasted sour, but being mixed with water, became very palatable (3).

(Y) They were, according to our author, lazy and libidinous to the highest degree. There they saw the children of the wealthier sort white and fair, and so fatted with boiled

(3) Xenoph. ubi supra, lib. v.

chefnuts,

through their country and that of the Mosynœcians, whom they had assisted, and came at last into the country of the Chalybians (Z); which being very barren, they hastened to get through it, and crossed that of the Tibarenians, which is more fertile and champaign, and whose inhabitants met them with presents, in token of hospitality, and arrived at the city of Cotyora (A), where they staid no less than forty days. They had now travelled, in their retreat from the field of battle near Babylon, to this city, in one hundred and twenty-two marches, six hundred and twenty parasangs, or eighteen hundred stadia, in about eight months (B).

*Arrives at
Cotyora.*

The

chestnuts, that they were near as thick as long; their backs were painted with divers colours, and their fore-parts embellished with various flowers. The men expressed a great desire to make public use of the women which the Greeks had with them; for it was, it seems, their custom to do that only in public which others do in private, and in private to behave as if they were in public; which is no more than what Strabo says (4) of the Irish, and Julius Cæsar of the ancient Britons (5). They talked, laughed, and danced by themselves, as if in company, and were diverting others instead of themselves.

(Z) These were subject to the Mosynœcians, and lived mostly by their iron manufacture; from whence they had the name of Chalybians. Strabo was of opinion, that they were the same with the Alyzonians, mentioned by Homer (6); and that the poet either wrote Chalybes, or that the inhabitants were originally called Alybians. If so, by what Ho-

mer writes of them, they seem to have been as famed for their silver as they were, at that time, for their iron mines.

As for the Tibarenians, Xenophon tells us, the Greeks, having a design to plunder their country, suspended the accepting of their presents till the gods were consulted, who declared against their intended hostilities; upon which they marched, in a friendly manner, to Cotyora.

(A) This was a Greek city, and a colony of Sinopians, though, in Arrian's time, it was dwindled into a small village (7).

(B) This is Xenophon's account of it; but which is looked upon as imperfect in both respects. Interpreters have likewise varied about the true amount of the parasangs and stadia, reckoned at the end of his last book, particularly Mr. Hutchinson, who computes it to be three thousand three hundred and thirty-one English miles, reckoning eight stadia to a mile. He might, indeed, have said Greek miles,

(4) Geogr. lib. iv.
lib. xii.

(5) Bell. Gall. lib. v.
(7) Peripl. Pont. Euxin.

(6) Geogr.

*Refused
entrance.*

*Sinopians
complain
against
them.*

*Xenophon's
answer to
them.*

The Cotyorans, who had heard of all the exploits performed by the Greeks in this glorious retreat, and looked upon them with a jealous eye, refused to admit their sick within the walls, or even to supply them with provisions; so that they were obliged to get admittance for the former by force, and, for the other, to make excursions into some of their territories, and those of the Paphlagonians. But, whilst they were busied in sacrificing to the Gods, and celebrating their usual games, they received an embassy from Sinope, the most powerful city in northern Asia, complaining of the injury done to their colony of Cotyora, and particularly of their forcing the inhabitants to receive their sick. Hecatonymus, who wanted neither address nor eloquence, intermixed his harangue with soothing and threatening expressions; and as he, on the one hand, congratulated their success and valour, so, on the other, he plainly told them, that, unless they forbore all farther hostilities, the Sinopians would be obliged to call in Corylas, the Paphlagonians, and other allied nations, to their assistance. To this Xenophon answered, with his usual openness, to this effect: "We are come hither well satisfied with having preserved our persons and our arms, after so long and dangerous a march. We have offered no violence to any but Barbarians, and have always forborn it wherever we have met with any Greek colonies. The guides, which the Trebizontines have furnished us with, can witness how strictly we have observed the laws of hospitality towards that city; and we

and then his account would have been right; but it is plain, from Arbuthnot, that it is shorter than the English mile. Spelman hath rectified that account in his last note on Xenophon, and makes the whole amount only to three thousand three hundred five and a half English miles.

The time, likewise, of the expedition, viz. in the third year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, and the length of it, viz. twenty-five months, may be seen fairly stated, if not fully proved, in the geographical dissertation formerly mentioned. The latter stands thus:

	Months,
From Ephesus to the battle	7
From the battle to their arrival at Cotyora	8
To their joining Seuthes (in a moderate computation)	6
Served under Seuthes	2
From leaving him to join Thymbra near	2
<hr/>	
	25
	have

have done the same even with those Barbarians who have granted us a free passage, as long as any provisions could be bought with money; and, if we have behaved in a different manner towards the Cotyorans, you ought to lay the blame of it to that inhumanity they shewed in shutting up their gates against us, and refusing to supply us with provisions, which, they told us, they did in obedience to the Sinopian governor's orders. All the hostility we have committed against them, hath been only the forcing our sick and wounded into their city, and setting a guard upon that gate, to secure their return to our army. The rest of us you see encamped in the open air, and equally ready to return a kindness or resent an injury. As for your threats, we, who have encountered so many warlike nations, cannot be at a loss to defend ourselves against Corylas and his Paphlagonians: we are informed that he wants to make himself master of your city and the maritime towns; it will be easy for us to make him our friend, by assisting him in his designs, if you give us cause so to do."

This speech so alarmed the rest of the ambassadors, who perceived how impossible it would be either to over-awe or overcome the Greek chiefs, that they unanimously disclaimed that of their orator, as far as related to the threatenings which Xenophon was so justly offended at; and declared, that they were sent not to declare war, but to offer their friendship, and, with it, all the services in their power, to them; that, if the Greeks designed to come to Sinope, they should meet with a kind reception; and that, till then, they should be supplied with every thing by the Cotyorans. Upon this there was nothing to be seen but tokens of hospitality and friendship on both sides, and such a mutual confidence, as removed all farther jealousies; and the rest of the day was spent in feasting and mirth.

The Sinopians seek his friendship.

By that time they had staid forty days before Cotyora, Xenophon became impatient to wait any longer for Cheirisophus, of whom they had not heard any thing since his departure. He therefore resolved to make use of the good understanding between him and the Sinopians, to engage them to furnish him with transports; and, having called an assembly, in which those ambassadors were admitted, he addressed himself to them, and desired, as they were Greeks, to give them the best advice they could about their return into Greece. He was answered by Hecatonymus, That they were ready to give the best and most friendly advice, without any regard to their own private

His address to them.

private interest: that though he clearly foresaw to what inconvenience it would put the Sinopian state to furnish them with a sufficient number of ships to transport such a considerable body of men; yet as their route by land was hazardous and difficult, on account of the vast ridges of mountains they must go over, and the great number of warlike people they must encounter with, by whose help Corylas had been enabled to shake off the Persian yoke; to say nothing of the great rivers, where their passage might be easily obstructed, particularly the Iris, Halis, Thermodon, and Parthenius, he was of opinion, that their going by sea was the safer and quicker way, since the Sinopian vessels would be able to land them, in a few days, at the port of Heraclea; "where you will have it in your option, said he, to continue your route either by sea or land; and, if you choose the first, there you will find a sufficient number of vessels for that purpose." The Greek chiefs thought his advice more in favour of Corylas than he pretended: but, upon mature consideration, they agreed to it, upon condition, that the Sinopians should provide them a sufficient number of vessels for the whole army; for that they were fully determined to force their passage through any roads, rather than suffer their army to be divided.

*The Greeks
resolve to
go home by
sea.*

This resolution was immediately dispatched to Sinope, by proper deputies; and, whilst they were waiting for their return, Xenophon, who like a true patriot and philosopher, was still meditating for the good or honour of his country, had laid the project of establishing a Greek colony on the Euxine coast, of his targeteers, archers, and slingers, who, by long experience, were become such excellent warriors, that they could easily maintain themselves against any opposition, and settle themselves into a republic, of which his master Socrates should be the law-giver. Before he communicated his design to any of the chiefs, he desired the augur Silanus to consult the gods; but he, who made a fordid trade of his office, and was in haste to carry his wealth into Greece (C), as the only

(C) This diviner, among other advantages he had reaped by his art, had received a reward of three thousand Darics, or ten talents, from Cyrus, for having foretold to him, that the king would not fight him within ten days; which pre-

diction was fulfilled accordingly.

This was the motive that induced that juggler to wish himself in Greece in such haste, where he only thought he could be in safe possession of his large booty.

place

place where he could enjoy it in safety, instead of consulting the gods, betrayed the secret to the Greek army; upon which both chiefs and soldiers, not only declared against it, but accused Xenophon of having some sinister design of sacrificing them to his ambition. They carried their resentment so far, as to alarm the Sinopian and Heracleian merchants with it, particularly Timasion the Dardanian, and Thorax the Boeotian, who had already prevailed upon those two cities to send them vessels for their departure; and a good number of the Greeks had engaged to follow them: so that the army was upon the point of being divided, had not Xenophon dissipated their fears, and restored a mutual harmony amongst them:

Xenophon's project of settling a colony, betrayed, and rejected.

His defence to the army,

“ That I often sacrificed to the gods (said he to them, in a general assembly) is no secret to you; and they are my witnesses, that I only do it to obtain their direction, and your safety, that I may happily see you all at the end of your labours. But since you will not think yourselves so, till you arrive in your native country, I am willing to desist from my design, which I only formed from a concern that your present wants gave me, and that such as were willing might possess themselves of some place of rest, whilst the remainder were at liberty to pursue their march homewards: and since I find, that the Heracleians and Sinopians are sending us a supply of ships, and that Timasion and Thorax have promised your pay from the beginning of the next month (D), I shall look upon it as an advantage to be thus safely conducted to the place of our desire, and paid for being preserved in our way thither. Only remember, that our success and safety will chiefly depend upon our strict union; whereas your suffering yourselves to be divided, will expose you to continual dangers and want. My opinion, therefore, is, that we not only hasten to Greece; but that, if any one of us be found to stay behind, or endeavouring to desert his companions, before we are arrived at a place of safety, he be punished as an offender.” He concluded with putting the motion to the vote; upon which it was agreed to by every one, except Silanus; who opposed it, under

and advice about the march.

(D) As we are forced to omit many particulars, we shall only observe from Xenophon, that those two discontented chiefs, in order to draw the soldiery into their design, had engaged to pay them a cyzicene per month, on condition, that, that they agreed to sail away by the beginning of the next month; which many of them had agreed to.

pretence

pretence that every one ought to be at liberty to retire whithersoever he pleased; but he was like to have paid dear for his indiscretion, and was threatened to be punished as a deserter, if ever he attempted to make his escape.

*Corylas's
message.*

Their long stay at Cotyora, during which the men could no longer subsist but by the plunder they got from the Paphlagonians, obliged Corylas to send ambassadors to acquaint the Grecian chiefs, that, as he did not design any injury to their army, so neither would he suffer any from them. Xenophon, who was then very much employed in the embarkation, received them with all the marks of friendship and civility; and, after a magnificent entertainment, and some shews and exercises (E), they went away well satisfied with their reception, the answer they received, and their peaceable and honourable dismissal; after which, the Greeks, having received the promised vessels from Heraclea and Sinope, embarked, and set sail, with a favourable wind; and the next day anchored at Harmene, a port not far from Sinope, where they received from the inhabitants a present of three thousand measures of flour, and a proportionable quantity of wine. Hither also arrived Cheirisophus, who, after so long a stay, had been able to obtain of the Lacedæmonian admiral only a few galleys, some fruitless praises, and the promise of Lacedæmonian pay to as many as would serve under him.

*The Greeks
embark for
Harmene.*

*Resolved
upon a lu-
crative
expedition.*

By this time the soldiers, who found themselves on the eve of entering their beloved country, began to regret, that they had no more booty to carry home with them,

(E) There was a martial dance exhibited, in which two Thracians appeared leaping and jumping, at an extraordinary height, with their arms, at the sound of the flutes; and in the height of their agility, one of them struck the other with his sword, in such a manner, that the spectators thought him dead; and, having stripped him of his armour, marched off in triumph: the supposed slain was soon after carried off unhurt. But that which gave the greatest satis-

faction was that of a courtesan belonging to an Arcadian, who appeared in an elegant martial dress, and danced the Pyrrhic, her shield in one hand, and spear in the other, with such agility, comeliness, and regularity, that the ambassadors could not forbear asking, whether these Greek women had borne a share in charging the enemy's troops? To which they were answered, that they drove the Persian king out of their camp.

and

and to form a design to supply that defect, by the spoils of some opulent town; and, in order to do it with greater safety and success, resolved to confer the supreme authority on one of their chiefs, which would render their deliberations more secret, and the execution of them more easy and effectual. Xenophon, on account of his singular virtues and sagacity, was unanimously nominated; but he, being afraid lest any thing should happen that might fully all his former glory, modestly refused it; and, among other reasons he gave for it, one was, that, as Cheirisophus had hitherto been chief of these expeditions, it would be unjust to choose an officer of another nation, and would expose the Athenians to the resentment of the Lacedæmonians. His refusal was so far from being relished, that they told him, it was time to set aside such regard for those upstarts, who now domineered over all Greece: and a merry Arcadian chief added, in a pleasant tone: "At this rate the Lacedæmonians will be the only ones fit for the place of honour: so that we shall not dare to make a feast without sending for a symposiarch to Sparta (F)." His raillery was much applauded by the army, and Xenophon still more pressed to accept of the offer: upon which he was forced to tell them, that he had, according to his constant custom, consulted the gods by sacrifices; and that they had absolutely forbid him to do it. So that they were, with some difficulty; prevailed upon to choose Cheirisophus; who not only gladly accepted it, but promised to make no farther use of his authority, than what would contribute to the success of their enterprize.

Xenophon declines to embark in it.

Cheirisophus chosen in his stead.

The wind proving favourable, their little fleet set sail along the coast, once famed for the Argonautic expedition, and still retaining the name of Jason; along which they observed the mouths of the Thermodon, Halys, Parthenius, &c. and landed in the peninsula called Acherusia, near the city of Heraclea. Here they encamped on the banks of the Lycus, and received proofs of hospitality from that city, consisting of three thousand bushels of

Encamp on the Lycus.

(F) The Greeks called the person that was chosen to be president of a feast, symposiarch; and the keenness of this sarcasm consists in the unsuitableness of a Lacedæmonian for such an office, considering the Spartan plainness of living, and their aversion to luxury; of which we have given an account in a former section (1).

(1) See before, vol. v. p. 333, & seq.

wheat,

wheat, two thousand barrels of wine, one hundred sheep, and twenty oxen : and as they deliberated, whether they should continue their navigation, or proceed by land, being by this time grown more greedy after plunder, as well as more ungovernable, they resolved to extort of the Heracleans the sum of ten thousand cyzizenes. The magistrates were not a little surpris'd at this demand ; but according to their usual subtilty, having promised to consult about it, ordered, with the utmost expedition and secrecy, every thing that was valuable in the country to be brought into the city ; which was no sooner done than they ordered the gates to be shut : presently after the walls appeared covered with armed men, ready for defence ; and the Greek deputies were dismissed, without any other answer. Upon their return the Greek army fell into the utmost confusion and uproar, and treated all their chiefs with the bitterest invectives, and even Xenophon, by name, as the main obstructors of their wealth and glory ; and the Achæans and Arcadians, having protested that they would not return into Greece with empty hands, abandoned Cheirifophus, and chose ten chiefs of their own nation.

*An uproar
in the army.*

*Divided
into three
bodies.*

The army was divided into three bodies, the Arcadians and Achæans embarked, to the number of about four thousand five hundred, on the transports which the Heracleans had furnished them with ; and Cheirifophus and Xenophon led the other two bodies, which consisted of two thousand men each. The Arcadians sailed to Calpe, a sea-port, situate between Heraclea and Byzantium, lodged for that night in the neighbouring villages, about fifty stadia distance from the sea, and the next morning brought home a good number of cattle, and some prisoners. The Thracians, who inhabited this part of Bithynia, and who were neither used to, nor provided against such inroads, had abandoned the country ; but soon rallied their forces, and attacked the Arcadians, who, for want of light-armed infantry, continued their march in a close phalanx, without opening or breaking their ranks, till they came to a valley, where the Thracians so harassed them on both sides, that they were entirely defeated. Flushed with success, the Thracians fell on another body, of which eight only escaped. All this while the Thracians made such loud shoutings, that their number hourly increased ; and next morning attacked the Greeks, and surrounded the eminence on which they had lodged. Their archers and cavalry made several heavy discharges

*The Arcadians
defeated, and
terribly
harassed.*

discharges on them, without receiving one shot; for, as soon as the Greeks moved one way to repulse them, they immediately faced about, and gave way, whilst the others attacked them behind. At length the Greeks, no longer able to bear such violent and frequent onsets, began to treat of a peace; but when they came to insist upon having hostages, the Thracians refused to give any; which put a stop to the treaty.

In this forlorn condition we must leave the Arcadians; to take a view of the other two bodies; that is, those of Cheirisophus and Xenophon. The former, being in a bad state of health, marched along the sea-coast, and, at length, safely arrived at the port of Calpe; and Xenophon, having provided himself with ships, landed on the confines of Thrace, upon the territory of Heraclea. His cavalry, having intercepted some passengers, brought them to him; and these informed him of the dangerous situation the Arcadians were in. He immediately resolved to go to their assistance; and, in order to dispose his soldiers to second his generous design, addressed them to this effect:

Cheirisophus lands at Calpe, and Xenophon on the Thracian confines.

“ You hear that part of the Arcadians are slain, and the rest closely besieged upon a hill; if these be destroyed, our hopes of seeing our country are at an end, seeing the Thracians are so numerous and successful against us. Let us therefore immediately march to their relief: can we do a more glorious thing than to save our countrymen, and secure our own safety? Perhaps the gods have suffered those rash and perfidious men to fall into these disasters, for having presumed to depend upon their own prudence, and reserved to us, who depend on their guidance and protection, the honour of saving them. Follow your leaders, and obey the orders you receive from them.” He then marched at their head, through the enemy's country, ordering his men to set all on fire wherever they passed; and encamped that night within forty stadia of the Thracian camp. The next morning Timasion, and his cavalry, were ordered to march towards them along with the guides; but when they came to the field of battle, they found neither the Arcadians nor the enemy, but only some of the plunder, as sheep and oxen, with some old men and women, who told them, that the Thracians had abandoned the place the night before, and the Arcadians had retreated that morning by break of day; but which way they were gone they knew not. Xenophon was immediately informed of this, and marched directly for the port of Calpe, where he found the Arcadi-

Xenophon's speech.

Marches to assist the Arcadians.

The army joined at Calpe.

ans just arrived; and soon after them came in also Cheirifophus, with his two thousand men. The army being thus happily reunited, nothing was seen after a while, but the most hearty congratulations: after which they buried their dead; and as for those that could not be found, they erected a large cenotaph to their memory, and crowned it with garlands, after the Grecian manner. On the next day they held a general assembly, at which it was unanimously agreed, that whoever, for the future, proposed to divide the army, should be put to death: and Cheirifophus having lost his life by a medicine which he took in a fever, the assembly chose Neon the Asinæan to succeed him.

Cheirifophus's death.

The army in great straits, and Xenophon suspected.

By this time the army being without ships, and wanting provisions, Xenophon proposed their marching by land; but, upon consulting their victims, they met with nothing but sinister omens, till the soldiers began to suspect that Xenophon was at the bottom of it, and was still bent on his old project of settling a colony there: so that he was forced to publish through the army, that all persons might be admitted to view the victims, and to invite all the skillful priests to come and assist at them. On the next day there was an extraordinary concourse of both, and a great number of victims was offered. This was repeated three times, and not one promising omen to be found, but every thing seeming to threaten some direful disaster. Upon this Xenophon addressed himself to the army, and proposed, that, since the gods had declared against their departure, they should now consult them about a supply of provisions, since their own was almost exhausted; and was immediately answered by a soldier, that he was informed, by a ship from Byzantium, that Cleander, governor of that city, was coming with transports and galleys: so that the gods, without doubt, directed them to stay for him. All the rest declaring themselves to be of the same opinion, they consulted the gods about a fresh supply of provisions; but here likewise the victims proved ominous. The next day having no oxen left for sacrifice, they were obliged to buy some from a cart; but these proved no more favourable than the former. Upon which Xenophon concluded, that they foreboded some danger in the attempt of going in quest of new plunder; whilst Neon was of opinion, that, in their present situation, they ought to listen to nothing but the irresistible voice of necessity.

The chiefs divided.

Neon's rash expedition.

At length Neon, being informed by an Heracleian, that there were some villages near, where they might get fresh supplies,

supplies, ordered a proclamation to be made, that those who were disposed might go in quest of provisions, there being a guide ready to conduct them: upon which two thousand went out of the camp, armed and equipped for that expedition; but their ill success was a fresh proof against the incredulous, which Xenophon did not pass without animadversion; for Pharnabazus, who was governor of Phrygia, sent a strong detachment of horse against them, who killed about five hundred Greeks, and put the rest to flight; and these, having rallied, retired to a neighbouring hill. Xenophon no sooner heard of this defeat, than he put himself at the head of his army, marched to their rescue; and had the good success to bring them safe back to the camp, about sun-set: soon after, the Bithynians, coming up through the neighbouring thickets, surprised the advanced guard, killed some, and pursued the rest to the camp. The alarmed Greeks immediately ran to their arms; but not thinking it safe to leave their camp in the night for fear of ambushes, contented themselves with reinforcing the outguards, till the next morning.

*Armed by
the Bithy-
nians.*

They decamped by break of day, and marched to a place of greater strength, where they fortified themselves with palisades and a trench, which reached quite through the neck of land that led to the promontory; and this they had completed by noon. At the same time arrived a vessel from Heraclea, with fresh supplies of grain, cattle, and wine. By the next morning Xenophon, having offered the usual sacrifices, found the victims more favourable; about which time the priest, having likewise observed an eagle on the lucky side, called out to him, to lead on. They passed the trench with great eagerness, to retrieve their last defeat; and only Neon, and those who were above forty-five years of age, remained to guard the camp. After marching fifteen stadia, they came to the bodies of their slain, which they buried; and about mid-day began to perceive the enemy's army, which consisted of several bodies of horse and foot, and formed but one phalanx. At sight of them the Greeks were inspired with fresh courage; and the victims proving still favourable, Xenophon, among other proper dispositions of his army, detached three companies of two hundred men each, to support the main body, that, as soon as they had broken the phalanx, the enemy might intangle themselves between those three bodies; after which he proposed marching immediately against them.

*Intrench
themselves.*

*A fresh
supply.*

*March a-
gainst the
enemy.*

*Xenophon's
speech to
the army.*

The Greek chiefs led on the van; but, before they could come at the valley where the Persians were posted, they were to cross a thick and difficult copse, or valley (G): upon which they made a halt, to consult whether it was proper to march through it. Xenophon, who led the rear; wondering at their halting, went instantly forward; and, having heard their reason for it, addressed them thus: "You know, that I never willingly sought dangers for you, but rather consulted your safety even more than your glory; but, in this present situation, we cannot go back without danger of being pursued, and having our rear cut off. Is it not, therefore, more safe to attack them, with our arms to cover us, than to see them pursue us when we are defenceless, and when our flight will inspirit the most cowardly among them? I had rather fall on with half the number of forces, than give way with twice as many: and, I believe, you think with me, that if we attack them, they will not have courage to stand, though if we retire, they will pursue us. I cannot but look upon the thicket we are to cross as an advantage worth contending for, because it will make us engage with greater bravery, when we see no hope of safety but in victory. As for the enemy, I am glad they have an open country, and will not be at a loss for variety of ways to fly from us; for I scarcely believe they will stand our first onset: neither is this thicket more difficult or dreadful than many we have passed; and if it was, will it not be more so, if we do not overcome their horse? And will not the mountains we have traversed be still more difficult to repass, with such a number of targateers at our heels? But should we by flight, be able to gain the Euxine sea, what will it avail us, seeing we have neither provisions nor vessels to transport us? Had we not, therefore, better attack them now we have taken some refreshment, than to be attacked by them to-morrow morning when we are fasting? The sacrifices are favourable,

(G) The Greek word, *ἐκπύριον*, used by our author, commonly signifies a *wood*, or *thicket*; and is accordingly rendered by Leunclavius and Hutchinson, by *saltus*, and by D'Albancourt and Pagi, *un bocage épaix*, a *thick copse*, or *thicket*: but Mr. Spelman thinks it ought rather to be rendered a *valley*, because Xenophon speaks afterwards of a bridge over it, which can, in no sense, be applied to a wood; nor, we may add, to a valley, unless it be over some river running through it.

the omens happy; let us not, therefore, give the enemy time to sup and encamp where they please."

This speech so animated the chiefs, that, they desired him to put himself at their head; which he presently did; and, having reminded his vanguard of the many battles they had gained, and what those ought to expect who turned their backs, now they were happily got to the gates of Greece, the words given were, "Jupiter the Preserver," and "Hercules the Conductor;" and, after they had crossed the wood, or valley, he disposed them in form of a phalanx, and placed the targeteers upon their wings ordering the pikemen to carry their pikes on their right shoulders till the trumpet sounded, then to present them, and move gently on. The onset was resolute on both sides; the targeteers were so eager, that, instead of waiting for the signal, they rushed at once upon the Persian cavalry and Bithynian infantry, who repulsed them: but when the signal was given, and the Greek phalanx began to advance towards them at the sound of their martial instruments, and to present their pikes, they immediately broke their ranks, and were put to flight. Timasion, at the head of some Greek cavalry, pursued them, and slew a good number of runaways of their left wing: upon which their right rallied, and posted themselves on an eminence; but, seeing the Greeks come full speed to dislodge them, they abandoned it, and fled. When the Greeks had got possession of the post, they perceived the Barbarian infantry rallying, and going to join the Persian cavalry: upon which it was immediately resolved to attack them: this was done with such speed and bravery, that the enemy were seized with a panic; and the cavalry ran into a neighbouring forest for shelter.

*Defeat the
Persians.*

Night advancing, the Greeks did not pursue them thither; but took the advantage of the remainder of light they had, to erect a trophy: after which, they returned to their camp, which was about sixty stadia distance. After this signal defeat, the Bithynians abandoned the whole country to the Greeks, who found an immense booty, notwithstanding the care the inhabitants had taken to remove their best effects; all which they conveyed to the camp, and divided among them, together with a large supply of all sorts of provisions. They now waited for nothing but the return of Cleander, with the expected transports. They were not a little surprised to see him come with only two gallies, which were sent rather to discover the intentions of the chiefs, than to do them any

*Erect a
trophy.*

*Cleander
brings but
two gallies,*

real service. However, he was received with all the deference that was then paid to the Lacedæmonians, who, since the taking the city of Athens, had assumed a sovereignty over all the other Grecian states. He had in his company the infamous Dexippus, who had lately carried off a fifty-oar galley from Trebizond; and as he always sought after spoil more than glory, he desired the plunder might be committed to his charge: to which Cleander readily agreed.

Raises an uproar in the army.

This occasioned new disturbances in the army; for Dexippus, having refused some soldiers their share of the sheep, under pretence that they belonged to the public, was carrying one of them before Cleander, in order to have him punished, accusing him of threatening to carry off the sheep by force. Agasias, who was Xenophon's intimate friend, met them; and, as the prisoner served in his company, he ordered him to be set at liberty. Upon which, several other soldiers, being exasperated against Dexippus, vented their rage by throwing stones at him, and calling him many opprobrious names; insomuch that not only Dexippus and his attendants, but even Cleander, were obliged to retire. Xenophon endeavoured to dissipate their fears, and appease the tumult; but Cleander, as governor of Byzantium, took upon him the sole cognizance and decision of the affair, and threatened to send orders to the Bithynian towns to treat them as enemies, if they did not submit to his sentence.

Xenophon's speech to them.

The army did not seem much intimidated by his threats; but Xenophon, who foresaw the ill consequence of exasperating him, summoned the army together, and, in a speech, represented the danger of letting him depart in anger, because the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters of Greece, had it in their power to shut all the Grecian cities against them: "For (said he) he may shut up that of Byzantium against us, and cause all the rest to follow his example, and, at the same time, send such a character of us to Anaxibius their admiral, that it will be difficult for us either to sail hence, or remain here. I therefore am of opinion, that not only Agasias, and the soldier he released, but even myself, by whose orders, Cleander says, Agasias acted, or any other he shall complain against, he forthwith sent to him, to be tried." Hereupon Agasias rose, and, having cleared Xenophon from the imputation, and himself of having acted any thing unbecoming his character against the traitor Dexippus, offered to go and be tried in person by Cleander; and only

only begged, that they would order a number of their generals to accompany him, that, if he omitted any thing, they might speak in his behalf. This being granted, they, together with the soldier, went to Cleander, before whom the affair was fairly stated. Both Agasias and the soldier easily exculpated themselves, in the opinion of the generals, though Cleander assumed an air of resentment. But, whilst he was at dinner, Xenophon, who feared the worst from him, advised the army to depute some proper persons to intercede for them; and they appointed him, with some other generals, particularly Dracontius the Lacedæmonian, to plead in their behalf.

Agasias, and others, deliver up themselves to Cleander.

Xenophon pleads for them.

Xenophon addressed him to this effect: "The men you demanded, O Cleander, are now before you; and the army not only makes you master of their fate, but of its own. However, we presume to conjure you to spare them, on account of their signal services; in return of which favour we promise, that, if you shall think fit to be our general, we will convince you how obedient we shall be to your commands; in which case, we desire you will bring to trial Dexippus, and such as have incurred your displeasure, and reward every one according to his merit." His speech had the desired effect; and Cleander, swearing by Castor and Pollux, not only engaged to release the two men, but to come over himself to them, and, if the gods favoured them, to bring them into Greece. "Your discourse (added he) is very different from the report I have heard of some of you, that you were endeavouring to render the army disaffected to the Lacedæmonians." His answer was highly applauded by the Greek generals, who returned with the two men. Cleander, contracted an intimate friendship with Xenophon, offered sacrifices for their happy return into Greece, and, after having observed the good order and discipline observed by the army, became more desirous than ever of commanding them. He offered up victims for three days successively; but, finding them contrary to his wishes, he called the generals together, and said, "The victims will not permit me to conduct the army; but let not that discourage you, for it looks as if that honour was reserved for you. Go on, therefore, and depend upon meeting with the best reception at Byzantium I am able to give you." The soldiers having presented him with the sheep that belonged to the public, he returned them, and set sail soon after. The army, having sold the corn they had with them, marched through Bithynia; but, as they could

Cleander reconciled.

*The army
go after
plunder.*

*Arrive at
Chrysopolis.*

*and at By-
zantium.*

*Over-
reached by
the Lacedæ-
monian
admiral.*

meet with nothing on the road to carry into the territories of their friends, they resolved to march back one day and a night, which furnished them with a good number of slaves and cattle; and, after six days march, arrived at Chrysopolis (H), where they remained seven days to sell their booty ^s.

They were now preparing to cross the Bosphorus, in order to enter Byzantium; but Pharnabazus, who was then in that city, scarcely recovered from the panic which they had thrown him into, had taken care to inspire the Lacedæmonians, as well as their admiral, with such jealousies, that they were, with difficulty, admitted into the city; and had likewise engaged them to dispatch the whole Greek army as fast as possible into Greece, not thinking himself safe so long as they continued in the neighbourhood of Asia. The admiral accordingly sent for their generals to Byzantium, and there promised, that, if the Greeks came over, they should have pay; and Cleander, when they were arrived, caused it to be proclaimed, that he would review them, and order provisions to be prepared for their march; but, instead of paying them, Anaxibius ordered them to march out of the town with their arms and baggage, as if he designed to muster and dismiss them; at which the soldiers expressed no small discontent and reluctance, because they had no money to buy provisions on their route. However, they obeyed, and were no sooner got out of the city, with Xenophon, and the other generals at their head, than the gates were immediately shut. Here the generals were told by Anaxibius, that they might now proceed on their march, and supply themselves with provisions from the Thracian villages, where they would find plenty, and then continue their route into the Chersonesus, where Gniscus was ordered to pay them.

^s Xenoph. ubi supra, ad fin. lib. vi.

(H) A small city in Chalcidonia, situate on the Thracian Bosphorus, and once famed for being the place where the Athenians, when in possession of it, caused the vessels that sailed through the Bosphorus into the Euxine sea, to pay toll (i). It was a village, in Strabo's time, and is now, by the Turks, called Scutari; and, though divided from Constantinople by the Bosphorus, is yet looked upon as a suburb of that metropolis.

(i) Xenoph. ubi supra, lib. vi.

The

The soldiers, being acquainted with this piece of Lacedæmonian treachery, failed not to resent it, and ran forth with to their arms. Immediately the city gates were assaulted with hatchets, and other instruments, by some; others hastened to the sea, and got over the mole into the town; whilst a third party, who had tarried behind when the army marched out, broke the bars, and set the gates open; upon which those without rushed in, and ran through the streets, as if they had taken the place by assault. The inhabitants, seeing this, fled, some to their houses, others to the ships, expecting every minute to be plundered. Eteonicus, who had the care of the gates, fled likewise to the citadel, and the admiral to his fleet in a fishing-boat; and, not thinking the citadel's garrison to be strong enough to oppose them, sent, likewise, for that of Chalcedon to their assistance. Xenophon, who saw the tumult, and dreaded the consequence of their plundering that metropolis, made all possible haste to gather together the soldiers; who did not then stay till he spoke, but told him, that he had now a fair opportunity of making his and their fortunes, by becoming master of the city, gallies, money, and people. To this he only answered, for the present, that he would follow their advice: "But, added he, if this is your desire, place yourselves in your ranks immediately, and handle your arms." He caused the other chiefs to give the like orders to the rest, who readily obeyed; and, being ranged in proper order, and silence commanded, he spoke to this effect to them:

*Re-enter
the city
by force.*

*Xenophon
stops their
fury.*

"I am not at all surpris'd at your resentment for being so basely impos'd upon; but, if we wreak our revenge, not only on the Lacedæmonians who have done it, but on the city, which is altogether innocent, consider what must be the consequence of it: the former will declare us the enemies of Sparta; and, what hath lately happened in Greece, will easily point out what we are to expect. When Athens declared against that republic, we had then four hundred gallies, either in our sea-ports or arsenals; we had great sums in our treasury, besides a yearly income of one thousand talents, payable by our citizens and foreigners; our dominions extended a great way, particularly to the islands of the Ægean sea, and several rich cities on the coasts of Greece and Asia: notwithstanding all those advantages, we were, as you all know, subdued by the Lacedæmonians: and what have we not to fear from their power, now they are united with the Achæans,

*His speech
to them.*

Achæans, and have raised it on the ruins of Athens and its allies? Shall we now bring all the Greeks upon us, who are not yet out of the reach of the Barbarians, and especially the Persians, our most inveterate foes? Should all these join forces against us, are we in a condition to withstand them? For heaven's sake let us not perish with dishonour, by being declared enemies to our parents, friends, and relations; for these all live in the cities that will wage war against us; and not without reason, if, after we have declined seizing on any of the towns of the Barbarians we have vanquished, we should now plunder the first city of Greece we are arrived at. As for myself, may I be buried ten thousand fathom deep before I see you guilty of such a deed! If you are Greeks, I advise you to try, by your obedience to the masters of Greece, to obtain justice. Should they even refuse it, we ought not, wronged as we are, to deprive ourselves of the possibility of returning home; rather let us depute some proper persons to assure Anaxibius, that we did not enter the town with any hostile views, but to obtain what hath been promised to us: and, if we fail in this, let him see that we are ready to leave it again, not because we have been over-reached, but because we are willing to obey."

*The Greeks
march out
of the city.*

His advice was immediately followed; and proper officers deputed to the admiral, who promised, that they should have no cause to repent of their submission; and that he would send, forthwith, an account of it to Sparta, to the end that orders might be given from thence, that they might be supplied with every thing on their march, and meet with the kinder reception in their country. Upon this the army readily marched out of Byzantium; after which Anaxibius caused it to be proclaimed through the city, that if any soldier was found in it, he should be sold for a slave.

*Xenophon
serves un-
der Seuthes.*

What farther relates to the remainder of the Greek army, the differences among their generals, and the various ways each took, according to his different views and interest, we shall omit here, though Xenophon hath left us a diffuse account of it in the last book of his retreat. We have hitherto followed him through his greatest difficulties and dangers, and through all the countries of their enemies, into the territories of their friends; whence some, embarking on board merchant-vessels, arrived safe at their respective homes, whilst others entered themselves into foreign service. Of these last was Xenophon, who, being earnestly invited by Seuthes, king of Thrace, then

then at war with his rebellious subjects, chose to enter into his service, with as many of his men as were willing to follow him. The ill returns he and they met with from that ungrateful prince, notwithstanding all his promises to them, will be seen in its proper place. All that we shall say of it here, by way of conclusion to this appendix, and to Xenophon's glorious life and actions, is, that Seuthes not only broke his promise, but became his enemy, and would even have stripped him, and his troops, of all the spoils they had brought from Persia.

A man of Xenophon's character could not, without just indignation, behold such perfidy and injustice; so that he left his soldiers to the care and command of Thimbro, the Lacedæmonian general, who was sent against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, to deliver the Asiatic cities from the Persian yoke. He next crossed over to Lampfacus, where the Phliasian priest, Euclides, who came to congratulate him on his safe return, took the liberty to ask how much gold he had brought with him. Xenophon readily answered, with an oath, that he had not enough left to carry him home (for the Athenians had not yet banished him), unless he sold his horse and equipage. The Lampfacians, however, sent him the usual presents, in token of hospitality; and, upon his offering sacrifices, the priest was convinced of his poverty, and he was actually forced to sell his horse for fifty Darics.

His poverty.

From Lampfacus they went to Ophrynyon, and thence, on the next day, to Troas; and, passing over Mount Ida, came to Antandrus; and thence coasting along the Lydian sea, came to the plains of Thebes. They passed next through Adramyttium and Certonicum, to the plain of Caicus; and thence reached to Pergamus, a city of Mysia. Here Xenophon was informed, that Assidates, a rich Persian satrap, lay encamped in the plain, and might be easily surprised with all his wealth. He marched that night, with some of his faithful friends, and about six hundred men, and attacked him about midnight; but the Persian, having been reinforced from several parts, they were repulsed: they made, however, a safe retreat; and, on the next day, began a more successful attempt against him, in some villages, near the walls of Parthenium, where he took him, with his wife, children, horses, and all his riches, and then returned to Pergamus. By this time Xenophon had no reason to complain longer of his poverty, the Lacedæmonian, and other generals, as well as the soldiers, having unanimously agreed to select for him

Takes a Persian satrap and his wealth.

not

not only horses, but yokes of oxen, and other things: so that he had it now in his power, as he observes^b, to oblige a friend.

*Retires to
private
life.*

Thimbro, being arrived, took upon him the command of the army, joining that of Xenophon to the Greek forces, and pursued his war against the two Persian satraps. Xenophon retired, with a design to spend the remainder of his days in solitude and privacy; wherein he took care to preserve that glory which he had acquired at the head of the army. The city of Athens having condemned him to banishment, for having served under Cyrus, he, for some time, followed the famous Agesilaus, king of Sparta, and was treated with all the marks of esteem and friendship; but, after having served some campaigns under him, he retired to the city of Scillus, where he wrote his history, and philosophical works, continuing a zealous votary to the gods, who had brought him safe through so many perils.

One part of the spoils he employed in building a temple to Diana, after the model of that of Ephesus. The statue of that goddess was of ebony, exactly like the golden one at Ephesus, and was to be seen in Pausanias's time. The temple was built in the midst of a forest, watered by the river Hellene; and, at the entrance of it, were inscribed these words, "Territory consecrated to Diana. He likewise ordered annual sacrifices to her; and, on the day appointed for that festival, the tenths of the product of that territory were offered to the goddess; the rest was performed with great ceremony, a vast concourse of people attending; the edifice being on the high road between Sparta and Olympia, and about twenty stadia from the temple of Jupiter Olympius. So that this grand feast, which was also preceded with a general hunting of the Scylluntines, and, with other marks of joy, seems designed by its founder as a perpetual monument of this glorious retreat. His sons usually assisted at the hunting; and it was on their account he wrote his treatises of hunting and horsemanship; in which he endeavours to inculcate the beauty and virtue of making our delights subservient to religion, of which all his writings shew his heart to have been full.

Thus ended this celebrated expedition, which our author concludes in the following words: "The whole of the way, both of the expedition and retreat, consisted of two hun-

^b Lib. vii. ad fin.

dred and fifteen days march, of eleven hundred and fifty-five parasangs, and of thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty stadia; and the time employed in both, of a year and three months¹."

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Islands of Sicily, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, &c. to their becoming subject to the Romans.

S E C T. I.

The History of Sicily.

THIS great and fruitful island was anciently known *Namē* by the names of Sicania, Sicilia, and Trinacria or Tiquetra. The two former were borrowed from the Sicans and Siculi, who peopled a considerable part of the country; and the latter, from its triangular figure, formed by the three famous promontories of Pelorum, Pachynum, and Lilybæum. Cape Pelorum is now called by the natives Capo di Faro, or Capo della Torre di Faro. This promontory faces Italy, from which it is divided by the streights of Messina, reaching from the tower of the Faro, which is the most northern part of the island, to the Capo dell' Armi, or the Cape of Arms, the most southern part of Calabria. These streights, by the Latins called Fretum Siculum, by the Italians, Il Faro di Messina, and by us the Fare of Messina, are, according to Pliny², Strabo³, and other geographers, between twelve and fifteen miles in the broadest place, and in the narrowest about a mile and a half; insomuch that, when Messina was taken by the Carthaginians, many of the inhabitants are said to have saved themselves by swimming to the opposite coasts of Italy. This narrowness gave rise to an opinion, which once obtained among the ancients, that Sicily was originally joined to the continent of Italy by an isthmus, which was, in process of time, worn away by the fury of the waves, and the violence of earthquakes; but the most judicious among the ancients look upon this pretended separation as fabulous, and speak of it as a thing that is only said to have happened⁴. The Fare of Messina is famous for the rapidity of its currents, and the flowing and ebbing of the

¹ Ibid. in 6th.

² Plin. lib. IV. cap. 6.

³ Strab. lib. v.

p. 177.

⁴ Mela, lib. i. cap. 2. Strab. lib. v.

sea, which is very irregular, and sometimes rushes in with such violence, that the ships, riding at anchor, are in danger. The famous Scylla and Charybdis are at the north entrance into the streights. The former is a rock on the coast of Italy; the latter a whirlpool on the side of Sicily. The passage was, in ancient times, reckoned very dangerous^a. The other two promontories are, Pachynum, facing Greece, and Lilybæum, opposite Africa. The former is now known by the name of Capo Passaro; and the latter by that of Capo di Marfella, or Capo di Boco.

Situation.

This island lies between the 35th deg. 40 min. and the 38th deg. 30 min. of north latitude, extending in longitude from 35 to 39 degrees. Its greatest length, from Pelorum to Lilybæum, is two hundred miles; its breadth, from Pachynum to the city of Cephalædium, now *Cefalu*, a hundred and eighty; and the whole circuit of the island six hundred.

Soil and Climate.

Its fertility was so well known, that Sicily was anciently called the granary of Rome: to this day, whatever desirable things nature has frugally bestowed on other countries, are found in this, as in their original seminary.

*Cities.**Messana, now Mes-
sina.*

The most remarkable cities on the eastern coast of Sicily, which faces Greece, and extends from Pelorum to Pachynum, are, Messana, on the streights of Sicily, over-against Rhegium in Italy. This city was formerly called Zancle; which appellation some derive from the old Sicilian word zanclos, signifying *a hook*, the shore on which it was built being of that shape^b. Others think that it was so called from one Zancus, who reigned in that part of the island^c. But, however that be, this city, according to the chronologists, was founded five hundred and thirty years before the siege of Troy, and nine hundred sixty-four before Romulus laid the foundations of Rome. The inhabitants of this city, being greatly harassed by the pirates of Cuma, had recourse to the Messenians, a people of Greece; who, hastening to the assistance of the Zancleans, cleared their coasts, entered into an alliance with the citizens, and settled in their city, which was, from them, by the Greeks called Messene, and, by the Latins, Messana^d. Pausanias^e tells us, that Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, having entered into an alliance with the Messenians of Greece against the Zancleans, overthrew their forces, and, with the assistance of his allies,

^a Florus, lib. i. cap. 4. Seneca, Epist. 79, &c.
lib. iv. cap. ult. ^b Thucyd. lib. vi. p. 413.
vi. p. 185. ^c Pausan. in Messen,

^d Diod. Sic.
^e Strab. lib.

possessed

possessed himself of their city, which, in compliment to the Messenians, who had assisted in this expedition, he called Messene. This event is mentioned also by Herodotus^a, who ascribes all the glory of it to the Samians, the allies of Anaxilas, or, as he calls him, Anaxilatus. This city was afterwards seized by the Mamertini, and made their capital; by which means it became one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of Sicily. It was the first town which the Romans possessed in the island, being put into their hands by the Mamertini.

Taurominium, built on the ruins of the ancient city of Naxos, which was destroyed by Dionysius the tyrant, stood on the declivity of Mount Taurus. The river Taurominius watered the territory of this city^b; and its hills were famous for the excellent grapes they produced. It is now called Taormina, and is still a place of some consideration. The coast on which it stood was anciently called Copria, that is, *dunghill*; because the sea was supposed to discharge there the wrecks of such ships as had been swallowed up by the Charybdis^c. The river Taurominius, which gave its name to the city, is now called Cantara.

Catana stood on a gulph of the Ionian sea, called the gulph of Catana, and is commended by the ancients as one of the richest and most powerful cities of Sicily. It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of Chalcis, and continued in great splendor for many ages^d; but at last underwent the same fate as most of the other cities in the neighbourhood of Ætna, having been, in great part, consumed by the eruptions of that mountain, and buried in ruins by the dreadful earthquakes, which have often laid waste the whole neighbouring country. Its territory was watered by the river Amenes, or Amenanus, now called the Judicello.

Murgentium, or Morgantia, was founded, according to Strabo^e, by the Morgetæ, a people of Italy, who crossed over into Sicily with the Siculi, and built this city, at a small distance from the mouth of the Symæthus, now La Jaretta. Thucydides^f, Scylax, and Pliny^g, place it near the conflux of the Chryfas, now the Dittaino, and the Symæthus.

Leontini stood about five miles distance from the coast, ten from Catana, and twenty from Syracuse. It was

^a Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 23, & lib. vii. cap. 28.

lib. xiv. cap. 60. & lib. xvi. cap. 7.

^w Thucyd. lib. iii.

lib. vi.

^x Strabo, lib. vi. p. 186.

^z Plin. lib. iii. cap. 8.

^t Diod. Sic.

^u Strabo, lib. vi. p. 185.

^y Thucyd.

built by the Chalcidians, under the conduct of Theocles, the Athenian, in the first year of the thirteenth Olympiad, as Thucydides informs us. The territory of Leontini was watered by the Liffus, which falls into the Tereas at the distance of eight furlongs from the city^a. Leontini was defended, in the time of Thucydides, by two strong citadels; the one called the citadel of Phocœa, the other the citadel of Bricinnia. At a small distance from the city was a lake abounding in fish, and about twenty miles in compass. The vapours, arising from the marshes made by the overflowing of the lake, greatly infected the air, which was there deemed very unwholesome; but, to make amends for this disadvantage, the fields were so fruitful, that, according to Pliny, they yielded a hundred-fold: whence the city of Leontini was called by Tully the grand magazine of Sicily^b. The wines it produced were thought the most delicious of the whole island; but the inhabitants abused this benefit by their intemperance; which gave rise to the proverb, "The people of Leontini are always at their cups." Dionysius, the tyrant, having made himself master of the city, removed the inhabitants to Syracuse. Polybius gives a very exact and minute account of Leontini, and to him we refer our readers for a more particular description of it.

*Megaritis,
or Hybla.*

The city of Hybla was built by the Sicani, who were driven out by a colony from Megaris in Greece. These new-comers, having enlarged and beautified the place, gave it the name of their native city. The Hyblæan honey is, as every one knows much celebrated by the Latin poets (1).

^a Polyb. lib. vii.

^b Cic. Orat. Frumen. cap. 12.

(1) The ancient geographers mention three cities in Sicily, bearing the name of Hybla. The city we are here treating of, stood on the eastern coast, and gave name to the gulph which the present natives call the gulph of Augusta, from the city of Augusta, or Aousta, on that bay. The second city of Hybla was situate on an eminence, in the same place

where the small town of Ragusa now stands, and was called the Little Hybla: The third, which was called the Great Hybla, is supposed to have stood between Catania and Hadranum; in the territory of the present Padermo. Some pretend that there are some traces of it still to be seen, near the mouth of the Cataro, formerly the Alabon, or Alabis (1).

(1) Vide Fazel, in Descript. Sicil.

Syracuse,

Syracuse, once the metropolis of all Sicily, and a most flourishing commonwealth, was, according to Tully^c, the greatest and most wealthy of all the cities possessed by the Greeks. Thucydides equals it to Athens, when that city was at the height of its glory^d; and Strabo calls it one of the most famous cities of the world for its advantageous situation, the stateliness of its buildings, and the immense wealth of its inhabitants^e. It was built, according to Thucydides and Strabo, by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came from Corinth into Sicily, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad. The abridger of Stephanus and Marcianus of Heraclea tell us, that it borrowed the name of Syracuse from a neighbouring marsh called Syraco. This stately city contained within its walls, which were eighteen miles in compass, four very considerable cities, as Strabo calls them, united into one, viz. Acradina, Tyche, Neapolis, and the Island or Ortygia. In Acradina, the largest of the four, there was a vast square, surrounded with porticos, a magnificent temple dedicated to Jupiter Olympius, the prytaneum, where the public councils were held, and a spacious palace for the administration of justice; with several other buildings, which were deemed master-pieces of architecture. This quarter was situated on the sea-side, and divided from Neapolis and Tyche by a wall of an extraordinary thickness and height. The second city, called Tyche, stood between Acradina and the hill Epipolæ, having the former on the east, and Neapolis on the south. The chief ornaments of this division were, a spacious and beautiful gymnasium, whither the youth resorted to learn all sorts of exercises; and several temples, greatly admired for their inimitable structure, especially that of Fortune, by the Greeks called Tyche, whence this division borrowed its name. The third quarter, called the Island, or Ortygia, was joined to Acradina, Tyche, and Neapolis, by a bridge. The most remarkable buildings in this part were, the palace of Hiero, which afterwards became the habitation of the Roman prætors, and two magnificent temples, the one dedicated to Diana, and the other to Minerva, the two tutelary goddesses of Syracuse^f. The last city was called Neapolis, or the New City, because built after the other three. The chief ornaments of this city were, a spacious amphitheatre, and two temples of wonderful architecture, con-

^c Cic. Aët. iv. in Verr.
^e Strabo, lib. vi.

^d Thucyd. lib. vii. p. 503.
^f Cic. Aët. iv. in Verr.

secrated to Ceres, and Libera or Proserpine. The statue of Apollo Temnites, which was afterwards carried to Rome, is celebrated by Tully, as the most valuable monument in Neapolis.

Of these four cities Ortygia alone is now remaining. There are indeed some footsteps still to be seen of the ancient Syracuse, in the ruins of the porticos, temples, and palaces, which are described at length by Fazellus, to whom we refer the reader^a. The famous fountain of Arethusa rose in this island; but its spring is now dried up. Near the city stood a hill, called Epipolæ, exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. When the Athenians besieged Syracuse, this hill was not enclosed with a wall, as in after-ages, but defended by a fort, called Labdalon^b. On Epipolæ was the famous prison Latomiæ, which word properly signifies *a quarry*. Cicero gives us a minute account of this dreadful prison, which was a cave one hundred and twenty-five paces long, and twenty-foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of Dionysius the tyrant, who caused those to be shut up in it, who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure^c. The whole city was invironed with a triple wall, so flanked with towers and castles, at proper distances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours at a small distance from each other, being separated only by the island, viz. the great harbour, and the small one, called otherwise Laccus; both were surrounded with stately edifices^d. The great harbour was above five thousand paces in circumference, and the entrance of it five hundred paces wide, being formed, on one side, by a point of the island Ortygia, and, on the other, by the little island and cape Plemmyrium, which was defended by a fort of the same name.

Above Acradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus. The river Anapis ran about a mile and a half distance from the city, and emptied itself into the great harbour. Near the mouth of the river, and about five hundred paces from the city, stood a castle, called Olympia, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which was the chief ornament of the place. Thucydides, in his description of the city, mentions only these three divisions, viz. the Island, Acradina, and Tyche: whence it is plain, that Neapolis was added after his time^e. Syracuse underwent

^a Fazell. de Rebus Sicul.
vi. in Verr.

^b Idem ibid.

^c Thucyd. lib. vi.

^d Thucyd. lib. vi.

^e Cic. A8.

several revolutions, before it was taken by the Romans; but was always one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of those times: for Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse in the year of Rome 260, and the other tyrants, his successors, were become equally formidable to the Greeks, Africans, and Asiatics. Dionysius, the younger, who governed this city, kept in constant pay a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, besides a fleet of four hundred sail. It is still a very considerable place, and well peopled, having two harbours, and a great many fine buildings.

Camarina was formerly one of the most wealthy cities of Sicily. It stood between the rivers Oanus and Hipparis, now the Frascolari and Camarana, near the coast. Nothing now remains of this great city but some ruins, and the name of Camarina, which the natives give to a tower, and a neighbouring marsh. Camarina was founded in the forty-fifth Olympiad, destroyed by the Syracusans in the fifty-seventh, and rebuilt between the eighty-second and eighty fifth Olympiad. After many revolutions, it was brought under subjection by the Romans, in the first Punic war. This is the first city of note on the southern coast of Sicily, which lies opposite to Africa, and extends from cape Pachynum to Lilybæum^m. *Camarina,*

Next to Camarina stood Gela, a city once of great note, and said, by Thucydidesⁿ, to have been founded by one Antiphemus, who had made a descent on the island, assisted in the enterprize by a body of two hundred Rhodians, from the city of Lyndus. These gave the name of Lyndus, their native city, to their new habitation. Some years after, a body of Cretans, under the conduct of one Entimus, landing in this part of the island, joined the Rhodians, and, together with them, peopled the city. In process of time, the name of Lyndus was changed for that of the river Gela, called at present Fiume di Terra Nova, which watered the neighbouring territory^o. This city is commonly thought to have stood at the mouth of the Gela, where Terra Nova now stands; but some place it in the neighbourhood of the present Alicata^p. *Gela,*

Agrigentum, or Agragas, was once a city of great note, and no less famous for its buildings than Syracuse itself. It is said, by Thucydides, to have been founded by the inhabitants of Gela, under the conduct of the *Agrigentum.*

^m Strabo. lib. vi. p. 187.
lib. iii. cap. 8.

ⁿ Thucyd. ibid.
^p Vide Fazell. de Rebus Sic.

^o Plin.

duumviri Aristo and Pistillus, about the fifth Olympiad. It stood between the rivers Agragas and Hypsa, of which the former is now called Fiume di Gergenti, and Fiume di San Biaggio; the latter Fiume Drago. Among other remarkable buildings in it, there were three temples, greatly celebrated among the ancients; viz. the temple of Minerva, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and that of Jupiter Atabyris, so called from a mountain in the island of Rhodes, where that god was worshipped. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the citadel, called Omphace, which stood at a little distance from the mouth of the Agragas, was much more ancient than the city itself^a. The temple of Jupiter Olympius was one of the most magnificent in Sicily. It was, according to Diodorus, three hundred and forty feet in length, threescore in breadth, and in height a hundred and twenty. This writer highly extols the beauty and size of the columns, which supported the building, the admirable structure of the porticoes, and the exquisite taste, with which the bas-reliefs and paintings were performed; and adds, that the last hand was never put to that stately edifice.

*Heraclea
Minoa.*

Heraclea Minoa, so called, according to Diodorus, because built by Minos, king of Crete, stood on the banks of the Halycus, now the Platani, not far from the place which the natives call Castel Bianco. Some writers tell us, that this city was built before the Cretans arrived in Sicily, and was called Macara; which name was, by the Cretans which seized on the place, changed into that of Minoa, in honour of their king Minos. Diodorus is not very consistent with himself in the account he gives of it; for, in one place, he tells us, that it was built by Minos; and in another, that it was founded by the Cretans, after their king's death. The Cretans were driven out by the Selinuntii; and these, in their turn, by a colony of Lacedæmonians, under the command of one of the Heraclidæ, from whom it borrowed the name Heraclea. There are still extant some medals, with the name of this city, and the figure of Hercules, from whom the leader of the Lacedæmonians pretended to be descended.

Selinus;

Selinus was formerly a place of great note, and is ranked by the ancients among the chief cities of Sicily. Ptolemy places it between the river Mazara and the promontory Lilybæum; but herein he differs from all the ancient historians and geographers, who speak of it as

^a Diod. lib. xiii.

standing between the Mazara and the Hypsa. Strabo tells us^r, it was built by the inhabitants of Megara in Sicily, under the command of one Pamphilus, about a hundred years after the foundation of their own city. Thucydides seems to allude to their origin, when he calls them Selinuntians of Megara^s. Diogenes Laertius tells us, that near Selinus was a marsh, which, with its pestilential vapours, infected the whole neighbourhood; to prevent which evil, Empedocles turned the streams of the two rivers Selinus and Hypsa into the marsh, and by that means carried off the stagnating waters. The same author adds, that the citizens, in gratitude for so great a benefit, ordered divine honours to be paid Empedocles, and sacrifices to be offered to Æsculapius. The city borrowed its name from the river Selinus, and the river from the great quantity of smalage, called in Greek selinon, which grew on its banks. The river Selinus is supposed to be the present Madiuni, and the city the place now called by the natives Terra delle Pulci^t. These are the most noted cities on the southern coast, which faces Africa. On that which lies opposite Italy, and is called by Ptolemy the western, but ought to be rather termed the northern coast, were the following cities.

Lilybæum, which gave name to the cape, was, according to Tully^u, one of the strongest and most considerable cities of Sicily. There is nothing now remaining of it, but the ruins of some aqueducts and temples, though it was standing in Strabo's time. The city of Marsala, or Marsella, whence the cape is now called Capo di Marsella, is supposed to have been built out of its ruins. Lilybæum had a port, which was a safe retreat for ships even in Julius Cæsar's time^x. The Romans indeed attempted several times to stop it up in their wars with Carthage; but their attempts proved unsuccessful, the heaps of stones which they threw into it being too weak to resist the violence of the seas and the storms. The Carthaginians, as Diodorus informs us^v, laid the foundations of Lilybæum, after they had been driven from Motya by Dionysius the tyrant; and, according to the same writer, Motya was taken by the tyrant the fourth year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad. But Diodorus herein contradicts himself, as he has but too often the misfortune to do; for

Lilybæum.

^r Strabo, lib. vi. p. 174.
ubi supra.

^s Thucyd. lib. vii.
^u Cic. Act. v. in Verr.

^t Fazell.
^x Hirtius de Bell.

Afric. ^v Diod. Sic. lib. xxii.

he tells us elsewhere, that it was besieged by the Carthaginians in the eighty-first Olympiad, that is, about fifty-two years before. The sepulchre of the sibyl of Cumæ was formerly to be seen near this city². Diodorus speaks of a well near Lilybæum, whereof the waters inspired all those who drank them with a prophetic enthusiasm; whence the inhabitants paid a particular worship to Apollo.

Depranum. Drepanum, now Trapani, anciently a famous mart, with a safe harbour, was so called from the Greek word drepanos, signifying a *scythe*, such being the shape of the shore on which it stood. It was inclosed with strong walls, and fortified by Hamilcar, Hannibal's father, who kept it a considerable time, and made it the seat of war against the Romans, till, by an order from Carthage, he concluded a peace with Lutatius. Near Depranum was the little island of Columbaria; which the inhabitants now call La Columbara. In Drepanum died Anchises, if Virgil is to be credited³.

Eryx. Eryx stood on the top of a hill, bearing the same name, at a small distance from the sea, and the place now called Trepano del Monte. The city borrowed its name from the mountain, and the mountain, as is supposed, from Eryx, the son of Venus, who is said to have been killed there by Hercules.

Segesta. Segesta, called by the Greek writers Egesta, and sometimes Acesta, stood at a small distance from Mount Eryx, and, according to an ancient tradition, was built by Æneas, when he was by a storm driven on the coast of Sicily. Some writers add, that Egestus, or, as Virgil calls him, Acestes, was left in possession of the city, by the founder, on his setting sail for Italy; and that from him it was called Egesta, till it became subject to the Romans, who, out of superstition, changed the name of Egesta into that of Segesta. Others say, that it was built by Egestus, before Æneas came into Italy; and some are of opinion, that it was founded by one Elymus, a Trojan, whence the inhabitants of this district were called Elymi⁴. Their territory was watered by the Scamander and the Simois, two names given these rivers by the Trojans, in memory of those in their native country; the former is

² Solin. cap. 11. Isidor. de Origin. lib. viii. cap. 8. ³ Virg. Æneid. lib. iii. ver. 707. ⁴ Strabo, lib. vii. ex Apollodoro, & Cic. Act. vi. in Verr.

now Il Fiume di San Bartolomeo, and the latter a rivulet without name (K).

Panormus, now Palermo, and the capital of Sicily, was built by the Phœnicians, some time before the arrival of any Greeks in the island^c. Its territory was watered by the Orethus, and the Leutherus; the former is now called Amiraglio, and the latter Baiaria. In the neighbourhood of this city stood anciently a strong fortress, called Ercta; which name was common to it with the hill, which the natives call Monte Pelegrino.

Panormus.

Himera was built by the inhabitants of Zancle or Messina, and utterly ruined by the Carthaginians^d. It was afterwards rebuilt, and called by the Romans Thermæ Himerae, from the hot baths in its neighbourhood. Tully speaks of this city as one of the most considerable in Sicily^e. Himera was the birth-place of the famous poet Stesichorus. The city borrowed its name from the river Himera, now Fiume di Termini, which washed its walls (L). In the reign of Augustus it was made a Roman colony, as appears from some medals^f.

Himera.

Alæsa, or Halæsa, was a very ancient city of Sicily, and stood, as Fazellus conjectures, near the place where the city of Castronia stands at present, on the river Alæsus, or Fiumi di Castronia. Near Alæsa was a fountain, which, as Solinus would make us believe, used, at the sound of a flute, to bubble up so that it could not be kept within the basin^g.

Alæsa.

^c Thucyd. lib. vi. A&T. ii. in Verr.

^d Diod. lib. xiii. cap. 67.

^e Cic.

^f Fazell. de Reb. Sic.

^g Solinus, cap. 11.

(K) This city was taken by Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, by whose cruel command all the inhabitants were put to the sword, and even the ancient name of the place changed into that of Dicæopolis, which it did not long retain. Tully tells us, that it was ruined by the Carthaginians before the reign of Agathocles. If, therefore, Diodorus's account be true, it must have been rebuilt. According to Strabo's description of it, it stood near the place where the town of Barbara was built many ages after, at a

small distance from Castel a Mare.

(L) There were two rivers in Sicily bearing this name, one running northward; and this is the river which gave the name to the city; the other runs southward, and falls into the African sea. The former is now called Fiume di Termini, and the latter Il Salfi, or Salfio; which name agrees with what the ancients say of it, viz. that its waters had a salt taste, which they contracted by flowing through salt mines.

*Agathyr-
na.*

Agathyrna, which Strabo ^b calls Agathyrsun, and Antoninus's Itinerary Agatinum, was, according to Diodorus, founded in the time of the Trojan war. Some think that it stood near the place now called San Marco, at a small distance from the promontory, which the Sicilians call Capo d' Orlando.

These are the chief cities we find mentioned by the ancient geographers on the coast of Sicily. Among the inland cities, the following are the most remarkable.

Adranum.

Adranum, now Aderno, at the foot of Mount *Ætna*, near a river formerly bearing the same name as it does at present, being called Fiume d'Aderno. This city was built, according to Diodorus ¹, by Dionysius the elder, and famous for the temple of Adranus, the tutelary god of the Siculi. Thither the inhabitants of the island, and foreigners, flocked, at stated times of the year, to make their offerings, and implore the protection of the deity of the place. *Ælian* tells us, that a thousand large mastiffs were constantly kept here; and that they were endowed with a particular instinct, which led them to fawn upon such as brought presents to the temple, and to conduct drunken persons home in the night, while they fell furiously on thieves, and tore them in pieces ^k. Centoripe, formerly one of the richest cities in Sicily, is now but a small village, called by the natives Centorbe. It stood, according to Strabo ¹, at the foot of Mount *Ætna*, not far from the river Symæthus, now La Jaresta.

Enna.

Enna stood on an eminence in the middle of Sicily, as Strabo ^m informs us; whence it was called, according to Diodorus ⁿ, the navel of Sicily. It was one of the strongest places in the island, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful soil, and the many lakes and springs which watered its territory. The waters of this place being highly commended by the ancients for their limpidity and wholesomeness. We are told by Diodorus ^o, that Ceres was born in this district; and that she first taught the inhabitants of Enna the art of agriculture. Diodorus adds, that the rape of Proserpine by Pluto happened near Enna, while the young goddess was gathering flowers in a neighbouring meadow. This opinion obtained among the Ennæans, who shewed a large cavern, which opened of itself, as they believed, to make the god a way to his in-

^a Strabo, lib. vi. cap. 184.¹ Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. cap. 32.^k *Ælian*. lib. iii.¹ Strabo, lib. vi. p. 185.^m Idem

ibid.

ⁿ Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. cap. 3.^o Idem

ibid.

fernal kingdom: hence the worship which the Sicilians paid these two divinities; the magnificent temple which Gelo erected to Ceres in this city; and the solemn festival, which the Syracusians annually celebrated near the fountain Cyane, supposed to have sprung up when the earth opened under Pluto's feet. The temple of Ceres was resorted to from all parts of Italy, Greece, and Asia, and was deemed one of the richest in Sicily. The ancient city of Enna is supposed to have stood where Castro Janni now stands.

Engyum, or Enguyum, stood near Mount Maurus, which the inhabitants call Mandonia, near the springs of Alæfus. Cicero ^p speaks of Engyum as one of the most considerable cities of Sicily. It was founded by the Cretans, and famous for a temple dedicated to Ceres, in which, it was constantly affirmed, certain goddesses, called the Mothers, appeared from time to time. This temple was, according to Plutarch, built by the Cretans, and dedicated to the goddesses styled the Mothers (M). That writer adds, that in the temple were lodged javelins and brazen helmets, which had been consecrated to the goddesses of the place by Meriones and Ulysses.

Engyum.

Ætna, now Mount Gibel, or, in one word, Mongibello, is the highest in Sicily, and famous for its frequent and dreadful eruptions, which have often destroyed the country to a great distance. It is said to be eight miles in height, and seventeen in circumference. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle shaded with woods, and the top covered with snow great part of the year, notwithstanding the flames and hot cinders it frequently throws up. The fire, which is continually burning in the bowels of this mountain, made the poets place here the forges of the Cyclops, under the direction of Vulcan, and the prison of the giants who rebelled against Jupiter. These fictions the vulgar soon took for truths, and looked on Mount Ætna as the residence of Vulcan, and the seat of his empire. Upon this supposition they erected a temple to him on the hill, in which was kept, as Ælian informs us ^q, a perpetual fire, as in the temple of Vesta, this element being a symbol of Vulcan. Next to Ætna in height and compass, is Mount Eryx, which we have spoken of above.

Mountains, Ætna.

^p Cic. *Ag.* iii. in *Verr.*

^q Ælian. lib. xi. de *Animal.*

(M) The pagans gave the goddesses of the first rank, namely, the name of Mothers to the goddesses to Cybele, Juno, and Vesta.

The

Rivers.

The principal rivers were the Terius, now La Tavetta; the Himera, rising on Mount Modenia, and falling into the African sea, and is now called Salso, for the reasons we have hinted above; the Halycus, called by the present inhabitants, Il Platani, it rises at a little distance from the small town of Halce, anciently Halyciæ, and discharges itself into the Sicilian sea, near the ruins of Heraclea, about eighteen miles west of Agrigentum; the Anapus, which rises near Buffena, waters the territory of Syracuse, and empties itself into the Sicilian sea, &c.

No country has produced men more famed for learning than Sicily; but we need not enlarge on this subject, it being well known, that Æschylus, Diodorus Siculus, Empedocles, Gorgias, Euclid, Archimedes, Epicharmus, Theocritus, &c. were natives of this island.

The Æolian islands.

The Æolian islands lie off the north coast of Sicily, in the Tyrrhenian or Tuscan sea. They were so called from Æolus, who is supposed to have reigned there. They are also known by the name of the Vulcanian islands, because some of them emitted flames like Mount Ætna, and Vulcan was the tutelary god of all such places; for the same reason they were called by the Greeks Hephæstides. Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, and Pliny, count seven of them, viz. Lipara, Hiera, Strongylæ, Euonymos, Didyme, Ericusa, and Phœnicusa. Lipara, now Lipari, is the best peopled, and the largest of the Æolian islands, being eighteen miles in compass. It is said to have borrowed its name from Liparus the son of Auson, who reigned in this island*. The soil is very fruitful, and the country furnished with great plenty of alum, sulphur, and bitumen. It has many medicinal baths, which were formerly much frequented; whence it had the name of Thermessa. Strongylæ, now Strombolo, is about ten miles in compass, and the soil no less fruitful than that of Lipari; but the whole country is frequently laid waste by the flames which a mountain in the island throws out. The other islands are no ways considerable, most of them being uninhabited, and mere rocks. Ptolemy reckons up fifteen of these islands; but it is evident he includes in that number several other little islands, which are too far distant from the Æolian islands to be comprehended under that denomination. They are distant about forty miles from the north coast of Sicily, and fifty from the nearest part of the Farther Calabria.

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 8.

The islands called *Ægates* or *Ægades*, lie north of Cape Lilybæum, and are three in number, viz, Phorbantia, or Buccina, as Pliny calls it, *Ægusa*, or Capraria, and Hiera, which is also called Maritima. The first is now called Levenzo, the second Favignana, and the third Maretano.

*The islands
Ægates.*

*The inha-
bitants.
The Cyclo-
pes and
Læstrigones.*

The Cyclopes and Læstrigones were, according to Justin, Pliny, Selinus, and Thucydides, the first inhabitants of Sicily. They are said to have settled in the territory of Leontium, and the countries in the neighbourhood of Mount *Ætna*; but of their origin we know nothing, except what we are told by the poets. That there were formerly Cyclopes, or giants, some moderns have endeavoured to prove from the remains of some dead bodies of a gigantic size, which have been found in several parts of this island.

The most ancient inhabitants after the Cyclopes, were the Sicani, who, as Diodorus informs us^{*}, called themselves the original inhabitants of the island. But Thucydides[†], Dionysius Halicarnassensis[‡], Philistus as quoted by Diodorus[§], Solinus^{||}, and the poet Silius[¶], tells us, that they came from a country in Spain, watered by the river Sicanus, which Servius^{**}, upon very weak conjectures, takes to be the Segro. Diodorus is of opinion, that the Sicani were the original inhabitants of Sicily, and supports his assertion with the authority of Timæus, who wrote the history of Sicily from the earliest ages. According to that ancient writer, the Sicanians at first possessed the whole island, and applied themselves to cultivate and improve the ground in the neighbourhood of Mount *Ætna*, the most fruitful part of the island: they built several small towns and villages on the hills, to secure themselves against thieves and robbers, and were governed not by one common prince, but each city and district by its own king. Thus they continued to live till *Ætna* began to throw out flames, and lay waste the whole country; then they abandoned their ancient habitations, and retired to the western parts of the island, which they still inhabited in the time of Thucydides[‡]. Some Trojans, after the destruction of their city, landed in Sicily, settled among the Sicani, built the cities of Eryx and Egesta, and became one people with them, taking the general name of Elymi, or Elymæi. They were afterwards joined

The Sicani.

^{*} Didor. Sic. lib. v. cap. 2. [†] Thucyd. lib. vi. [‡] Dion. Halic. lib. i. [§] Diodor. Sic. ubi supra. ^{||} Solinus, cap. 10. [¶] Sili. Ital. lib. xiv. ^{**} Serv. in lib. viii. *Æneid.* [‡] Diod. & Thucyd. ubi supra.

by some Phocenses, who settled here on their return from the siege of Troy.

The Siculi.

The people properly called Siculi, or Sicilians, came over into Sicily, after the Sicani had for many ages enjoyed an undisturbed possession of the whole island. They were, according to Hellenicus of Lesbos, the ancient inhabitants of Ausonia, properly so called; but being driven from thence by the Opici, they took refuge in Sicily, and settled in that part of the island, which the Sicani had forsaken. Not contented with the narrow bounds which the Sicani allowed them, they began to encroach upon their neighbours; a bloody battle ensued, in which the Sicani were utterly defeated, and confined to a corner of the island. The Siculi, now masters of the greater part of the country, changed the ancient name of Sicania into that of Sicily ^b.

The Greeks.

About three hundred years after the arrival of the Siculi, the island began to be known to the Greeks. Of these the first that went thither were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under the conduct of Thucles, who built Naxos, and a famous altar of Apollo, which, as Thucydides relates, was still standing in his time without the city ^c. Next year, which was, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis ^d, the third of the seventeenth Olympiad, Archias the Corinthian, one of the Heraclidæ, laid the foundations of Syracuse. Seven years after, a new colony of Chalcidians founded Leontini and Catana, after having driven out the Siculi, who inhabited that tract. About the same time Lamis, with a colony from Megara, a city of Achaia, settled on the river Pantacius at a place called Trotilum, where his adventurers lived some time in common with the Chalcidians of Leontini; but, being driven from thence by the Leontines, he built the city of Thapfus, where he died. Upon his death, the colony left Thapfus; and, under the conduct of Hyblon, king of the Siculi, founded Megara Hyblæa, where they resided two hundred and forty-five years, till they were driven out by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. During their abode at Megara, they sent one Pamilus from Megara in Achaia, their original city, to build Selinus. This city was founded about a hundred years after the foundation of Megara. Antiphemus and Entimus, the former a Rhodian, the other a Cretan, led each a colony of his countrymen, and

^b Thucyd. ubi supra. Dion. Halic. lib. i.
ubi supra.

^d Dion. Halicar. lib. ii.

^c Thucyd.

jointly built the city of Gela, on a river of the same name, establishing in their new settlement the Doric customs, about forty-five years after the founding of Syracuse. The inhabitants of Gela founded Agrigentum an hundred and eight years after their arrival in Sicily, and introduced the same customs there. A few years after Zancle was built by the pirates of Cumæ in Italy, but chiefly peopled by the Chalcidians, Samians, and Ionians, who chose rather to seek new settlements than live under the Persian yoke. Some time after Anaxales, tyrant of Rhegium, expelled the ancient proprietors; and, dividing their lands among his followers, called the city Messana, or Messene, which was the name of his native city in Peloponnesus. The city of Himera was founded by the Zancleans under the direction of Eucleides, Simus, and Sacon; but peopled by the Chalcidians, and some Syracusan exiles, who had been expelled by the contrary faction.

The Syracusans built Acræ, Chasmenæ, and Camarina; the first seventy years, the second ninety, and the third one hundred and thirty-five after the foundation of their own city^e (N). Strabo reckons, among the ancient

^e Thucyd. lib. vi.

(N) He takes no notice of a colony from Crete, which, if Diodorus is to be credited, settled in Sicily long before the Greeks got any footing in that island. According to this writer, Minos, king of Crete, having invaded Sicily in pursuit of Dædalus, was there treacherously put to death by Cocalus, king of the Sicani. The Cretans, who had attended him in this expedition, having lost their leader, and likewise their ships, which were all burnt by Cocalus, resolved to settle in the island, and build a city; which they did accordingly, calling it from the name of their king Minoa. Some time after, the inhabitants of Minoa, possessing themselves of a place strong by na-

ture, in the centre of the country, built there the city of Engium. After the destruction of Troy, Merion, with other Cretans, being cast away on the coasts of Sicily, were kindly entertained by their countrymen there, and admitted to share all the privileges of their city. Their power being thus increased with their numbers, they began to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories, and considerably extended their confines. In process of time they became one of the most wealthy colonies of Sicily, and built a most magnificent temple in honour of the Curetes or Corybantes, called in Crete the Mother Goddesses (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 13.

inhabitants

inhabitants of Sicily, the Morgetes, who, being driven out of Italy by the Oenotrians, settled in that part of the island, where the ancient city of Morgantium stood^f. The Campani, who assumed the name of Mamertini, that is, *invincible warriors*, and the Carthaginians, settled very early in Sicily, ought likewise to be reckoned among the ancient inhabitants of the island; but of these we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

*The history
of the Si-
ceni and
Siculi.*

As the authors, who have written the history of Sicily from the earliest times, and to whom Diodorus and Thucydides refer us for a particular account of what they only hint at, have not, to the irreparable loss of the learned world, reached our times, we cannot pretend to give any satisfactory or connected history of those nations that inhabited the island before the arrival of the Greeks (O). Of the Læstrigones and Cyclopes we know nothing

^f Strab. lib. vi. p. 186.

(O) The authors who wrote the history of Sicily from the earliest ages, are Timæus, Philistus, Antiochus of Syracuse, Hipys, and Theopompus. Timæus was contemporary with Plato, wrote the history of Sicily, and is often quoted and followed by Diodorus Siculus. Philistus flourished under the two Dionysuses, and wrote a complete history of Sicily from the earliest ages to his time. He was a native of Naucratis, but passed great part of his life at Syracuse, where he assisted Dionysius in the establishing his authority. He married the niece of Dionysius, unknown to him; and was on that account banished Sicily. He is often quoted by Josephus, and seems to have been an accurate writer (1). Antiochus of Syracuse is quoted by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, as an author of great credit; he flourished about the

goth Olympiad, and wrote the history of Sicily in nine books, which began with the reign of Cocalus, and ended with the state of Sicily in the reign of Darius Nothus, king of Persia. Pausanias mentions this author in these words; "Antiochus, son of Xenophanes, a Syracusan, says in his history of Sicily," &c. He is also quoted by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who tells us, that he extracted his history from ancient and authentic monuments. Strabo, Hefychius, and Festus, seem to pay a great deference to the authority of this writer. Hipys flourished either in the reign of Darius, or that of Xerxes; and was the first who wrote the history of Sicily, which history was afterwards abridged by one Myes. He is frequently quoted by Plutarch, Suidas, the scholiast on Aratus, and others. Theopompus, a native of the isle of Chios, flourished in the

(1) Vid. Plut. in Dio. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi.

nothing but what we read in the poets. We shall only say, that some writers have, not without good grounds, imagined that the *Læstrigones* and *Sicani* were the same people^a. As to the *Sicani*, they had at first as many kings as cities; but were in time brought under subjection to one common prince. Of all their kings we find two only mentioned in history; viz. *Cocalus* and *Teutus*: all we know of the latter is, that in his time the *Sicani*, being at variance among themselves, were subdued by *Phalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and *Teutus* himself taken by treachery in *Vessa*, his capital^b. *Cocalus* reigned long before him, and was, according to *Diodorus*, contemporary with *Minos*, king of *Crete*, who being highly incensed against *Dædalus* for helping his queen *Pasiphæ* to satisfy her unnatural lust, equipped a powerful fleet, and pursued him into *Sicily*, where *Cocalus* then reigned. Upon his arrival he sent messengers to *Cocalus*, requiring him to deliver up *Dædalus*. The *Sicani* shewed himself disposed to comply with his request, entertained him very splendidly, and invited him to his palace, where he caused him to be privately stifled in a hot bath. The *Cretans*, who had attended him into *Sicily*, raised a stately monument to their deceased king, whose bones were many ages after dug up in laying the foundations of *Agrigentum*, and sent into *Crete* by *Thero*, sovereign of that district^c. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Sicani* sided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterwards with *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, against the *Carthaginians*; but were at last entirely subdued by

^a Vid. *Reineccii Hist.* Jul. vol. ii. p. 381.

^b *Polyæn. lib. v.*

^c *Diod. lib. iv. cap. 13. Pausan. lib. vii. Euseb. in Chron.*

reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, of *Persia*, and *Philip*, the father of *Alexander* of *Macedon*. He was the disciple of *Isocrates*, and, in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, far excelled his master. *Athenæus* cites and commends him as a lover of truth, and one who spared no pains in the search of it. Besides many other excellent performances, he wrote the history of *Philip*, the fa-

ther of *Alexander*, in three books; in one of which he gave an account of the affairs of *Sicily*, from the beginning of the reign of *Dionysius* the elder, to the expulsion of *Dionysius* the younger (2). As the works of these authors have not reached us, we are destitute of proper materials respecting some of the most material points in the history of *Sicily*.

(2) *Diod. Sic. lib. xvi.*

the latter, and held in subjection till the Romans, in the first Punic war, rescued them from that bondage ^k.

The Siculi were, in like manner, first subject to many, and afterwards to one common prince. *Æolus*, according to *Diodorus* and *Justin*^l, was their first king, and succeeded by *Butes*, as *Butes* was by *Eryx*. But the most renowned among their princes was *Ducetius*, who governed the Siculi with great wisdom, built the city of *Palicon* (P), and removed that of *Neas*, the place of his birth, from the hills to the champain country^m. He engaged in a war with the *Syracusans*, by whom he was routed, and, surrendering himself to them, was set at liberty, upon condition that he should leave Sicily, and lead a private life at *Corinth*. The *Syracusans*, having thus got rid of a powerful rival, reduced the whole country of the Siculi, except the city of *Trinacria* alone, which refused to admit the *Syracusans* within the walls. This city was at that time the metropolis of the Siculi, and its inhabitants were accounted the best warriors of the whole nation. The *Syracusans*, therefore, having drawn together all their troops, marched against the *Trinacrians*, who met them at some distance from their city, and offered battle. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory was long doubtful; but at last the *Trinacrians* were overpowered with numbers; and, thinking it beneath them either to beg quarter, or to fly, were all to a man killed on the spot: such of them as were

^k *Diod. lib. xiii. & xvi.*
lib. xi.

^l *Justin. lib. iv.*

^m *Diod.*

(P) The city was so called from a neighbouring temple, dedicated to the gods *Palici*, who were supposed to be two twin-brothers, and sons of *Jupiter* by the nymph *Thalia*. The temple was very famous for the wonders that were related of it; but far more for the sacredness of the oaths that were taken there, the violation of which was said to be always attended with sudden and exemplary punishment. This sacred place was a secure asylum for all persons, who were oppressed by a superior power;

and especially for slaves, who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated, by their masters. They continued safe in the temple till they had made their peace by the interposition of mediators, chosen by both parties; and there was not a single instance of a master's having forfeited the promise he had made to pardon his slaves; so greatly revered were the gods who presided in the temple, for the severe vengeance they were believed to take on those who violated their oaths.

wounded,

wounded, preferring death to captivity, dispatched themselves. The Syracusans, having obtained so complete a victory over a people never before subdued, levelled the city with the ground, sold all the women and children for slaves, and sent the spoils, by way of thanksgiving, to the temple of Apollo at Delphi^a.

Thus were the Siculi reduced by the Syracusans; but they did not long continue subject to them; for in the war, which not long after broke out between the Syracusans and Athenians, under the conduct of Nicias, we find the former soliciting the Siculi to join them against a foreign enemy, and to espouse the cause of Syracuse as their own. But the Siculi were so far from complying with their request, that they sent powerful succours to the Athenians, and cut in pieces a body of Spartans that were marching to the relief of Syracuse. In the war, which was soon after kindled between Carthage and Syracuse, they assisted the Carthaginians with an army of twenty thousand men. But in the war which Dionysius the elder made upon the Carthaginians, with a design to drive them out of the island, they assisted the Syracusans to the utmost of their power. The Carthaginians prevailed in this war; and the Siculi, notwithstanding the assistance they had given Dionysius, were by him abandoned, and given up to the Carthaginians; whose yoke they bore till the time of Timoleon the Corinthian, who restored most of the cities belonging to the Siculi to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties. We shall now proceed to the history of the Greek colonies in Sicily, beginning with that of Syracuse, the most powerful state and eminent city in the whole island.

S E C T. II.

The History of Syracuse.

WHAT kind of government first prevailed in the city of Syracuse, is not well known. We find one Polis mentioned by Athenæus^o, and Ælian^p, as reigning there in the earliest times; whence some have concluded, that the city was first governed by kings. It is certain that monarchical government, if first introduced, was not of long continuance, being soon changed into a democracy,

^a Diod. lib. xii.^o Athen. lib. iii. cap. 28.^p Ælian.

Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 31.

as is manifest from Aristotle ³, Diodorus Siculus ⁴, and Justin ⁵. But as the history of that republic is, for the space of two hundred years, very obscure and uncertain, for want of records, we shall begin with the reign of Gelon, in whose time Syracuse first made a very considerable figure, and thenceforward furnished many great and memorable events for the space of above two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under tyrants, and liberty under a popular government, till it was at length reduced by the Romans, and made part of their empire.

Yr. of Fl.
1865.
Ante Chr.
483.

Gelon.

*Seizes on
the sove-
reignty of
Gela.*

*Put in pos-
session of
Syracuse.*

Gelon was born in the city of Gela, whence he probably took his name. He signalized himself in the wars, which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring states, most of which he reduced, and was very near making himself master of Syracuse, after having defeated the Syracusans in a battle fought on the banks of the Helorus: however, he obliged them to deliver up to Hippocrates the city of Camarina, which they had ever possessed to that time. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, his wards, took up arms against his own citizens; and, having overcome them in a battle, seized on the sovereignty for himself. After this success, he undertook to restore some Syracusans, who had been expelled the city by the contrary faction: with these exiles he marched from Casmene to Syracuse, where he was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and put in possession of the city. Being now master of so wealthy a place, he gave the government of Gela to his brother Hiero, and bent all his thoughts on the beautifying of Syracuse, and extending the limits of that state. His first care was to people it; and therefore, having destroyed the city of Camarina, he transferred the inhabitants to Syracuse. He had, soon after, some disputes with the Megareans, who were supported by all the Eubœans that inhabited Sicily. But their forces united were not able to cope with Gelon, who drove them out of the field, took and rased their towns, and transplanted the most wealthy among the inhabitants to his favourite city, allowing them to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the natives. The common people, though they had no part in promoting the war against him, he sold for slaves, obliging

³ Aristot. lib. v. Polit. cap. 4.
⁵ Justin. lib. xxii.

⁴ Diod. Sic. lib. xx.

those who purchased them, to transport them out of Sicily, saying, that it was more easy to govern a thousand men of substance, than one who had nothing to lose^t. By these means the power of Syracuse rose in a short time to a very great height; and the friendship of Gelon was courted, not only by the neighbouring states, but by those of Greece, namely of Athens and Lacedæmon, who jointly sent ambassadors into Sicily, inviting him to enter into an alliance with them against Xerxes, king of Persia, who was ready to invade Greece with a formidable army.

Becomes powerful, and is courted by the neighbouring and other states.

Gelon had been, before this time, engaged in a war with the Carthaginians, and, on that occasion, had implored in vain the assistance of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; for he upbraided the ambassadors with the contempt Athens and Lacedæmon had shewn him, when he solicited succours from them against the Carthaginians. However, he declared, at the same time, that he was so far from retaliating such ungenerous treatment, that, on the contrary, he was ready to supply them with two hundred galleys, twenty thousand men completely armed, two thousand horse, two thousand bowmen, two thousand slingers, two thousand light-horse, and, besides, to furnish the whole Greek army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. This proposal was rejected, by the ambassadors, with indignation, who told him, that if he was willing to succour Greece under the conduct of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, they would willingly enter into a confederacy with him against the common enemy; but if he disdained to obey their orders, they would not accept of his assistance. Gelon replied, with a great deal of temper, that he could not help thinking he had a better claim to the supreme command than either the Lacedæmonians or Athenians, since he had a greater number both of sea and land-forces; but, however, he would abate something of his first pretensions, be satisfied with the command either of the fleet or the army, and allow them to choose which of the two they liked best. The ambassadors, notwithstanding the straits their respective countries were in, would not hearken to his proposals: whereupon they were commanded by Gelon to leave his dominions^u.

Upon what terms he offers to assist the Greeks against the Persians.

His offer rejected.

^t Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 153, 154.
Sic. lib. xi. Aristot. lib. viii. Polit. cap. 12.

^u Herodot. *ibid*, Diod.

*His policy
on this oc-
casion.*

In the mean time Gelon, being informed that Xerxes had crossed the Hellespont, and apprehending that the Greeks would not be able to resist so formidable a power, dispatched to Delphi one Cadmus, a person whom he could confide in, with rich presents, enjoining him to wait the event of a battle; and, in case Xerxes should conquer, to present him with the treasure, and pay him homage in his name; but, if the Greeks should get the better of the Barbarian, to bring back the presents to Sicily. Gelon, it seems, was, at this time, quite ignorant of the alliance which Xerxes had concluded with the Carthaginians before he undertook his expedition into Greece. By that treaty it was agreed, that while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should attack those who were of the Greek name in Sicily and Italy, that they might be diverted from assisting one another. Pursuant to this agreement the Carthaginians made great preparations, with a view to recover the places which they had formerly possessed in Sicily (Q). These preparations are said to have been continued for three years; during which time Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, who was charged with the management of it, not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but also, with the money sent him by Xerxes, hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and

¶ Herodot. *ibid.*

(Q) It is not exactly known at what time the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily; all we are certain of is, that they were possessed of some part of it as early as the first year after the expulsion of king Tarquin from Rome; for in the time of the first consuls, Brutus and Valerius, the Romans and Carthaginians entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce; whereby it was expressly stipulated, among other things, that the Romans, who should touch at Sardinia, or that part of Sicily which be-

longed to the Carthaginians, should be received there in the same manner as the Carthaginians themselves (1). Hence it is manifest, that the Carthaginians were already masters of Sardinia and part of Sicily. This treaty was concluded about twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece; but at the time of that expedition, the Carthaginians had no footing in Sicily, having been driven out by Gelon, as appears from that prince's speech to the Athenian and Spartan ambassadors, related at length by Herodotus (2).

(1) Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 22, 23, 24.
Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 22.

(2) Herodot. *ubi supra*.

Italy;

Italy; so that his army amounted to three hundred thousand men, and his fleet to two thousand ships of war, with three thousand transports. With this formidable armament Hamilcar sailed from Carthage; and, landing without opposition at Panormus, laid siege to Himera, a maritime city in that neighbourhood. Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, whose daughter Gelon had married, was then in possession of Himera, having driven from thence Terillus, to whom that city of right belonged. The tyrant, seeing his city on a sudden invested with so numerous an army, dispatched messenger after messenger to his son-in-law, imploring a speedy succour. Gelon, upon the first notice he had of the danger Theron was in, assembled an army of fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and marched, with all possible expedition, to his relief. Hamilcar, on his sitting down before Himera, which was a town of great strength, had caused two large camps to be well fortified; in one of which he lodged his land army; and his ships, which he had caused to be drawn ashore, in the other, placing there all his marines for their defence. Gelon, on his arrival at Himera, intercepted a courier carrying letters from the inhabitants of Selinus, confederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilcar, whereby he understood, that Hamilcar was to offer the next morning, in the camp of the marines, a solemn sacrifice to Neptune; and that he had appointed the Selinuntine cavalry to join him that day in the same camp. Gelon, taking advantage of this intelligence, selected an equal number of his own horse, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp, about the time agreed on, as if they were the Selinuntines. His orders were put in execution, and the body of cavalry admitted, without the least suspicion, into the camp. Hamilcar was then busy in sacrificing, and the greater part of the soldiery attending him without arms. The Syracusans, therefore, without the least opposition, advancing to Hamilcar, killed him, pursuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces most of his marines, and set fire to the ships. In this critical conjuncture Gelon, who had notice of the success by a signal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army and attacked the other camp. The Carthaginians, at first, made a gallant resistance; but when news arrived of their general's death, and, at the same time, seeing all their fleet in a blaze, they betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and then the slaughter was dreadful. We are told, that no fewer than a hundred

*Hamilcar
lands in
Sicily, and
lays siege to
Himera.*

*Gelon
marches to
the relief of
the place;*

*and defeats
the Car-
thaginians
with great
slaughter.*

and fifty thousand were killed in the pursuit; the rest retired to an eminence, where they made head against the enemy; but, being surrounded on all sides, without any hopes of relief, they were obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; so that of this mighty army, the greatest that had ever been raised in those western parts, not a man made his escape*. Herodotus tells us, that this battle was fought the same day as that of Salamis; but Diodorus Siculus asserts the Carthaginians to have been defeated the same day that Leonidas was killed at Thermopylæ.

After the battle Gelon amply rewarded all those who had signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. It appears, from Pindar's Ode to Hiero, as well as from a quotation of the historian Ephorus, and an expression of Pausanias, that Gelon, about the same time, obtained a great victory over the Carthaginians by sea, in which the sons of Dinomenes greatly signalized themselves; a circumstance the more surprising, as no mention is made of this action by Diodorus. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of Syracuse and Himera. The captives he shared with his allies, who employed them in public works; and so many were taken, that all Africa, as our author says, seemed to have been transplanted into Sicily. Some of the private citizens of Agrigentum, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred each. They were all put in irons, and set apart for the public service; and on this occasion it was, that the Agrigentines built their famous temple, and made those conduits, which were so much admired by the ancients, and called Pheaces, from one Pheax, who was the overseer of the work†.

Of the two thousand ships of war, and three thousand transports, of which the Carthaginian fleet consisted, eight ships only, which happened to be out at sea when the camp of the marines was taken, made their escape, and sailed for Carthage; but, before they reached that place, they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat. These, arriving at Carthage, brought an account of the entire defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The grief, consternation, and despair

* Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 135—138. & Diod. Sic. *ubi supra.* † Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

which such an unexpected disaster occasioned in the city, is not to be expressed. As the Carthaginians, in all great reverses of fortune, ever lost their courage, and sunk into despair; they looked upon themselves as utterly ruined, expecting every moment to see the victorious army land at Carthage. In this consternation they immediately dispatched ambassadors into Sicily, enjoining them to make peace with Gelon upon any terms. The ambassadors, landing at Syracuse, threw themselves at the conqueror's feet, and, with many tears, begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he should think fit to prescribe. Gelon heard them with great humanity; and, being touched with compassion, granted them a peace upon the following conditions, viz. that they should pay two thousand talents of silver to defray the expences they had put him to; build two temples, where the articles of the treaty should be lodged, and kept as sacred; and, for the future, abstain from offering human sacrifices. This last article shews the humanity of Gelon's disposition; and, indeed, no prince ever gave more instances of good-nature than he, after his authority was once established. Some acts of severity, which he is said to have practised before he was firmly seated on the throne, are generally ascribed to his counsellors, who prompted him to them, against the natural bent of his humane temper. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchase of a peace, which was absolutely necessary for their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. They shewed their gratitude to Demarata, Gelon's wife, who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring them so favourable a peace, by sending her a crown, which was valued at a hundred talents of gold. This crown Gelon converted into money, and coined pieces called, from his wife's name, Demaretia, each of them being worth ten Attic drachmas ^z.

Carthage in great consternation.

Peace concluded, and upon what terms.

Gelon, after the conclusion of the peace, having nothing to fear from Africa, resolved to embark his troops; and, passing over into Greece, join his countrymen there against the Persians. For, upon mature deliberation, he resolved rather to serve under the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, than suffer the Barbarians to insult over the Greek name. But, while all things were in readiness for this expedition, a messenger from Corinth brought him the joyful news of the victory, which the Greeks had gained

Resolves to assist the Greeks against the Persians

^z Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

at Salamis; and, at the same time, acquainted him, that Xerxes, with a great part of his army, had left Europe. Hereupon he disbanded his forces, after having commended his soldiers and officers for the forwardness they had shewn to assist their countrymen in Greece, and given each of them some token of his favour. He commanded the allies to return to their respective homes, and the mercenaries he quartered in places at a great distance from his metropolis.

*His great
condescen-
sion.*

Having now no troops within or near the city, he summoned a general assembly of the inhabitants of Syracuse, commanding them to come armed, as if they were to encounter an enemy. When they were met, he repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, and there gave an account of his whole conduct, shewing to what uses he had applied the several sums, with which he had been entrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that he had never any thing in view but the public welfare; but, however, if he had, through ignorance, done any thing amiss, they were at liberty to inflict what punishment they thought fit, since they were all well armed, and he without arms or guards to screen himself from their vengeance. The assembly, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the unusual confidence he reposed in them, answered with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king. This last title Gelon had ever declined, styling himself only prætor of Syracuse; but the Syracusans obliged him, before he left the assembly, to accept it, and unanimously invested him with the supreme authority. Their gratitude did not stop here; a decree was passed, setting the crown, after his death, on his two brothers, Hiero and Thrasybulus. And because he had, by coming without arms or guards into the assembly, put his life into their hands, the assembly commanded a statue to be erected, representing him simply in the habit of a citizen, hoping to transmit the memory of so remarkable an action to the latest posterity ^b (R).

*The people
oblige him
to take the
title of
king.*

*A statue
erected in
his honour.*

The

^a Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

^b *Ibid.* & Plut. in Timol.

(R) This statue met afterwards with a very singular fate. About a hundred and thirty years after it had been set up, Timoleon, having restored the Syracusans to their ancient li-

berty, thought it adviseable to sell all the statues of the princes who had governed till that time, in order to erase the least footsteps of tyranny, and at the same time to relieve the

wants

The Syracusans had no cause to repent their having entrusted him with the sovereign power; for he employed the short time he reigned in the truly royal care of making his people happy. He was the first man, as our author observes^c, who became more virtuous by being raised to the throne. Before his power was established, he was, contrary to his natural disposition, obliged to use severity; but when the supreme authority was, by the common consent of the citizens, put into his hands, he made it his only study to oblige all, and serve the public to the utmost of his power, without any regard to his private ease or advantage. The first thing he did after his accession to the throne, was to bestow on ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, all the rights and privileges of the Syracusan citizens. This step he took with a view to people his capital, to increase the power of the state, and reward the services of so many brave men, who had exposed their lives for the defence of the city^d. He was, as Plutarch informs us^e, particularly famous for his honesty, truth, and sincerity; for he is said never to have wilfully wronged the meanest of his subjects, and never to have promised a thing which he did not perform.

Studies the happiness of his people.

One of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging agriculture, which he took great pains to make his subjects look upon as an honourable employment. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and took delight in employing his spare hours in working with them in the fields. His design was not, says Plutarch^f, merely to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his subjects to toils, and by those means preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably attend a soft and indolent life. He was a professed enemy to luxury, pomp, and ostentation; and used his utmost endeavours to banish from his dominions all such callings as had a natural tendency to debauch the manners, and enervate the courage of his subjects.

Encourages agriculture.

Enemy to pomp and luxury.

^c *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*
^f *Plut. ibid.*

^d *Idem ibid.*

^e *Plut. in Apophth.*

wants of the people. But first he brought them to a trial, as so many criminals hearing the depositions and witnesses against them. They were all condemned with one voice, the

statue of Gelon excepted, which found an eloquent advocate in the sincere gratitude the citizens still retained for so beneficent a prince (1).

(1) *Ælian. lib. xiii. cap. 37.*

*The Syracusans
happy under him.*

Ever since the defeat of the Carthaginians the several cities of Sicily enjoyed a profound peace; such as had joined the enemy were, upon their first application, generously pardoned by the conqueror, and suffered to enjoy their ancient liberties. The Syracusans, above all others, were happy under the auspicious government of so good and beneficent a prince. Their republic indeed was changed into a monarchy; but the laws, and not the monarch, bore the whole sway. Their properties were as safe, their liberties as extensive, as when they were their own masters, and their city in a more flourishing condition than ever. Their king assumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the satisfaction of procuring happiness to his people. He was heard to say, that the Syracusans, in placing the crown upon his head, could have no other view than to engage him, by so signal a favour, to defend the state, to preserve order, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit by his simple, modest, frugal, and regular life, a pattern of all civil virtues to his subjects. This design he answered above any prince that ever had stayed a sceptre before him; his whole life being taken up in promoting the worship of the gods, the observance of the laws, and the welfare of his subjects.

*His death
and funeral.*

But his reign was short; heaven only having shewn to the world, that those, who in after-ages were to be placed over others, might in Gelon have a perfect pattern of all the virtues that are becoming the regal station. He died of a dropy, in the third, or the beginning of the fourth year of his reign; and the grief of his subjects for the loss of their common father, and best friend, as they not undeservedly styled him, was equal to the love and esteem they had always bore him. Even on his death-bed he gave an instance of his respect for the laws: the Syracusans had enacted one against the extravagant pomp of funerals; and Gelon, willing to confirm with his example what the people had approved, begged his brother Hiero, who was to succeed him, to take care that this law was strictly observed in his funeral. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the place where it was to be interred, though it was above twenty miles distant from Syracuse. The people, in gratitude and affection for so excellent a prince, erected, in the place where he was buried, a magnificent mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprising height, and exquisite structure, and decreed him those honours, which

*Beloved by
his subjects.*

were

were then paid to the demi-gods, or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and Agathocles the towers; but, says our historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all other things, could efface the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of his subjects^c.

After Gelon's death, the sceptre continued near twelve years in his family. He was succeeded by Hiero his eldest brother, who is commended by some of the ancients^a as an excellent prince; and by others represented as a covetous, headstrong, and cruel tyrant^d. He was extremely jealous of his brother Polyzelus, whose great interest and credit among the citizens made him suspect, that he designed to drive him from the throne. He therefore employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him, suffering no Syracusan to enter his palace. To get rid of Polyzelus, he resolved to put him at the head of a great army, which he was going to send to the assistance of the Sybarites against the Crotoniates, hoping he might lose his life in that expedition. But Polyzelus, being apprised of his design, refused the command; a refusal which so exasperated the tyrant, that he would have caused him to be put to death, had he not by a timely flight saved himself in the territories of Theron, king of Agrigentum, who had married his daughter. Hiero demanded him; but Theron could not by any threats be prevailed on to deliver up his father-in-law, who had taken sanctuary in his dominions^e.

Yr. of Fl.
1877.
Ante Chr.
471.

Hiero.

War between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum.

The kings reconciled.

This dispute gave rise to a war, which lasted many years, between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum, and was at last ended in the following manner: the inhabitants of Himera being grievously oppressed by their governor Thrasideus, the son of Theron, and not daring to complain to his father, sent ambassadors to Hiero, offering to deliver up to him their city, and join him against his rival Theron. But Hiero, detesting their treachery, discovered the whole plot to Theron, who, out of gratitude, offered to conclude a peace upon terms that were highly advantageous to Hiero. The conditions were accordingly agreed to by the contending parties, and the two kings reconciled. On this occasion Theron, interposing his good offices in behalf of Polyzelus, prevailed

^c Diod. Sic. lib. xi.
^d Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

^a Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 1.
^e Idem ibid.

upon Hiero to receive him again into favour. To make the reconciliation between the two kings more lasting, they cemented it with a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister: after which event, there was, during Theron's reign, a perfect harmony between the states of Syracuse and Agrigentum¹.

Expels the inhabitants of Catana and Naxos.

Hiero, having thus concluded a peace with the king of Agrigentum, turned his arms against the inhabitants of Catana and Naxos, whom he drove from their country, and in their room settled a colony of Syracusans and Peloponnesians. This measure he pursued with a view to be honoured after his death as the founder of those cities; for all cities paid their founders such honours as were bestowed on heroes. The Catanians and Naxians he transplanted to the city of Leontini, incorporating them with the ancient inhabitants. The same year he obtained a signal victory over the Hetruscans of Tyrrhenia, who infested the neighbouring coasts, sunk most of their ships, burnt others, and cleared the seas of those pirates^a. He found himself soon after engaged in a war with the Agrigentines, under the conduct of Thrasideus, who had succeeded his father Theron, but was very unlike that good and generous prince; for he no sooner ascended the throne, than he began to oppress his subjects in a most tyrannical manner. Hiero, from the respect he bore to his father's memory, advised him to use his subjects with more humanity, lest they should conspire against him, and drive him from the throne. This wholesome advice so provoked Thrasideus, who was of a violent temper, that he entered the Syracusan territories, laid waste the country, and even threatened the metropolis with a siege, having under his standard above twenty thousand men. Hiero, seeing himself insulted at the very gates of his metropolis, raised an equal number of forces, and marched against the aggressor. Thrasideus did not decline the engagement, which was very bloody, most of the troops on both sides being killed on the spot. But the Syracusans had the advantage; and Thrasideus abdicating the government, fled to the city of Megara, where he laid violent hands on himself. Upon his abdication, the Agrigentines recovered their liberty, and entered into an alliance with Hiero^a.

Engaged in another war with the Agrigentines;

whom he defeats.

This prince, a little before his death, invited into Sicily the sons of Anaxilas, formerly tyrant of Rhegium, and a

¹ Diod. Sic. ubi supra. ^a Idem ibid. ^a Idem ibid. Schol. in Pindar.

friend of his brother Gelon. He advised them, as they were come to years of maturity, to take the sovereign power into their own hands, and call Micythus to an account, who had been left their guardian. Hiero, who had contracted a bad state of health, was very desirous to see the children of his brother's friend in possession of their dominions, before he left the world. The two young men, loaded with rich presents, set out from the court of Syracuse; and, arriving at Rhegium, commanded Micythus to give an account of his administration; which he did in the presence of their friends and relations, no person finding any thing to object to him, but, on the contrary, all admiring and extolling his prudence, his integrity, and justice; for it appeared, that no man had ever discharged a trust with more honesty and disinterestedness. The young princes, repenting the steps they had taken, earnestly pressed him to resume the government, promising to respect him as if he were their father, and pay him a filial obedience till the hour of his death. But Micythus could not be prevailed upon to accept their offer, and was equally pressing with them to take the reins of the government into their own hands; which they no sooner consented to, than Micythus took his leave of them, and embarked for Greece, his native country, being attended to the shore by the whole city, in the utmost grief for so great a loss. He afterwards led a private life at Tegæa in Arcadia, where he was no less esteemed and loved than he had been at Rhegium^o. Soon after, Hiero died at Catana, which city he had repopled, and was there buried in great pomp and magnificence. Diodorus tells us in one place, that he reigned only eleven years; and, in another, that he reigned twelve years and eight months^p. Aristotle contends, that he swayed the sceptre only ten years^q. It is certain from Pindar, that he died in the seventy-eighth Olympiad; if in the third of that Olympiad, he reigned eleven years, and somewhat more.

There is a strange disagreement among authors with relation to Hiero's character. Diodorus tells us, that he was of a covetous, cruel, and tyrannical temper, and an utter stranger to the candor and sincerity of his brother Gelon; that he attempted to make away with his brother Polyzelus; and that he oppressed his subjects to such a degree, that they would have deposed him, had they not

* Diod. Sic. *ibid.*
tot. lib. v. *Polit. cap.* 12.

^p Diod. Sic. *ibid.* & lib. xii.

^q Arif.

been restrained by the remembrance of Gelon's generosity, and general kindness to all his subjects ^r. On the other hand, Ælian ^s commends him as a just, generous, and good-natured prince; and adds, that the most needy were not more ready to crave than he was to give; that his generosity knew no bounds; that he was a great admirer of learning, and a bountiful encourager of the learned; that he was a prince of great candour and sincerity; and that he lived in perfect harmony with his brothers, without ever entertaining any sort of jealousy against them. He fell into a lingering illness, during which his only delight was to converse with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for the relief their entertaining conversation afforded him. Among these were Simonides, Pindar, Æschylus, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus, who were not only excellent poets, but also possessed of a great fund of learning, and consulted as the sages of their time. Simonides, in particular, had a great ascendant over the king's mind; and the only use he made of it was to inspire him with sentiments worthy of a prince. He frequently conversed with him on philosophical subjects; and in one of these conversations it was that Hiero, as we read in Tully ^t, asked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the Deity; to which Simonides answered, that he must have one day to consider of it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion: when Hiero pressed him to give the reason of these delays, he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension; and that, the more he dived into it, the more obscure it appeared to him (S). It is well known, that Pindar in his odes bestows the highest encomiums on Hiero, not only for the victory he won in the Olympic games, but also for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince in whom centred all the great and truly princely qualities. It is certain, that his court was a place of resort for all men of wit and

^r Diad. Sic. lib. xi.
^s Cic. de Nat. Deor.

^s Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 1.

(S) Several of the sayings of Hiero, related by Plutarch and Athenæus (1), shew, that he profited greatly by the instructions of Simonides. Among others, they tell us, that he

used often to say, That a king's palace and ears ought to be always open to every man who would speak truth without disguise.

(1) Athen. lib. vi. cap. 4.

learning;

learning; and that he invited them to it by his affability, courteous treatment, and much more by his liberality.

Hiero was succeeded by his brother Thrasylbulus, a savage and bloody tyrant. He practised all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, pretending that he had been set over them only that he might with safety trample them under his feet. All those, who gave him the least disgust, were murdered; the most wealthy, upon frivolous pretences, either put to death, or condemned to perpetual banishment. Such inhuman proceedings soon grew insupportable to the Syracusans, who, entering into an association, took up arms, and declared Thrasylbulus an enemy to his country. The tyrant, seeing the whole city in arms, though he kept always in his pay above fifteen thousand mercenaries, attempted at first to appease the tumult with fair words; but finding that the incensed citizens were not to be imposed upon, he possessed himself of that part of the city which was called Acradina, and of the island; and thence made frequent sallies on his adversaries, who were masters of the quarter called Tyche. The Syracusans sent ambassadors to Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, Himera, and other cities, desiring them to join in the common cause, and send speedy succours to the relief of Syracuse, since on the fate of the metropolis depended that of the other cities. Upon this intimation, they all ran to arms; and joining the Syracusans, put them in condition to venture a general engagement, which was attended with the desired success; for the tyrant was defeated, and closely besieged in Acradina, whence he sent deputies to capitulate with the people. The only terms he could obtain were, that his life should be spared, on condition he resigned his authority, and retired out of Sicily. These he was obliged to comply with; and accordingly, after having divested himself of all power, he withdrew to the city of Locros in Italy, where he led a private life, after a short reign of ten months*. Upon his resignation Syracuse, and the other cities that had been subject to him, were declared free, and the popular government every where re-established and maintained, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, that is, for the space of fifty-five years.

The Syracusans, being thus restored to their former liberty, called a general assembly, where it was unanimously decreed, that a statue should be erected to Jupiter the

Yr. of Fl.
1889.
Ante Chr.
459.

Thrasylbulus.

Governs
tyrannically.

Is driven
out, and a
popular go-
vernment
introduced
at Syra-
cuse.

* Died. Sic. lib. xi. Aristot. lib. v. Polit. cap. 10.

Deliverer,

New tumults in Syracuse.

Deliverer, of the size of a colossus; and that, on the anniversary of the happy day on which they had regained their liberty, solemn games should be exhibited, and four hundred and fifty bulls sacrificed by way of thanksgiving, to the gods, and all the people therewith entertained and feasted as on a day of general rejoicing^w. It was at the same time decreed, that the magistrates, according to ancient custom, should be chosen from among the chief citizens; and that none of the strangers, who had been made denizens by Gelon, should be admitted to any employment of trust. This decree incensed the foreigners, who could not brook such an odious distinction, after they had been by Gelon put upon the same foot with the best of the citizens: having therefore complained in vain of such hardship, they at last joined together, to the number of seven thousand; and seizing on Acradina and the island, annoyed from thence the other quarters of the town, resolving to obtain by force of arms what they could not get by any other means. They fortified themselves so strongly in their posts, that the Syracusans, though far superior to them in number, could not dislodge them. Wherefore they determined to shut them up so close on all sides, that no provisions could be carried in, and thus force them by famine either to surrender, or venture an engagement: the besieged chose the latter, and were most of them cut in pieces, after having made a great slaughter of the Syracusans. After the example of Syracuse, all the other Greek cities in Sicily entered into an alliance against the mercenaries and foreigners, who had been enriched with lands and houses by Gelon, and drove them from their possessions, and restored the ancient proprietors to their estates, and former habitations. Thus were all the cities of the island freed from foreigners, and restored to that form of popular government which had prevailed before the reign of Gelon^z.

Several aspire at the tyranny.

Though the tyrants, and those who were suspected to be their abettors, were thus every where driven out, yet there lay concealed in the minds of many a species of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of the public peace and tranquillity, and occasioned several tumults and commotions. In Syracuse one Tyndarides, having gained by his largesses a considerable party among the populace, attempted to assume the sovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were put to death. Their

^w Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

^z *Idem ibid.* cap. 21.

punishment did not deter others from the like attempt; for no sooner had any citizen acquired a considerable fortune, than he began to entertain thoughts of wearing a diadem, and, with that view, to court the favour of the people. To prevent, therefore, the evils daily arising from thence, and to bring down the aspiring minds of the wealthy citizens, the Syracusans were forced to make a law not unlike that of the Athenian ostracism; for at Athens every citizen was to write on a shell the name of the person whom they conceived to be the most likely, on account of his wealth and adherents, to aspire to the crown; so at Syracuse they were to write on a leaf the names of such as they apprehended powerful enough to usurp the sovereignty. When the leaves were counted, he, who had most suffrages against him, was, without any farther enquiry, banished for five years. This new-contrived method of impairing the estates, and weakening the interest of the over-grown citizens, was called *petalism*, from the Greek word *petalon*, which signifies *a leaf*. This law was attended with many evil consequences; for those, who were most capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the administration of public affairs committed to the meanest of the people; nay, many of the chief citizens, who were able to render their country great service, fearing to fall under penalties of this law, withdrew from the city, and lived private in the country, not concerning themselves with public affairs: whence all the employments being filled with men of no merit or experience, the republic was on the brink of ruin, and ready to fall into a state of anarchy and confusion. The law therefore of *petalism*, upon more mature deliberation, was repealed soon after it had been first enacted, and the reins of government were again put into the hands of men who knew how to manage them.

Petalism introduced at Syracuse.

Evil consequences attending it.

In the mean time Ducetius, prince of the Siculi, who inhabited the inland parts of the island, having raised a powerful army, laid siege to Enna, which he took by storm, and advanced to Agrigentum, with a design to drive the Greeks from all the cities which had been formerly possessed by his countrymen. The Agrigentines went out to meet him; but their army was defeated, and the city threatened with a siege. Hereupon they had recourse to the Syracusans, who sent a strong reinforcement under the command of Bilco. Ducetius, who was

War between the Syracusans and the Siculi.

Idem ibid. cap. 26.

then besieging Motyum, belonging to the Agrigentines, leaving part of his forces before the place, led the rest against the united troops of the Syracusans and Agrigentines, put them to flight, and, returning before Motyum, made himself master of that city. The Syracusan general, upon his return, was tried for the loss of his army, for most of the Syracusans were cut to pieces in the engagement; and, being convicted of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, was put to death, and a worthy citizen, whom the historians do not name, invested with the command. The new general was attended with all the success they could wish, since he entirely defeated the Siculi, reduced all their cities, and brought Ducetius to such straits, that he was obliged to submit to the Syracusans, and throw himself upon their mercy, as we have related above ².

War between the Syracusans and Leontines.

After the reduction of the Siculi, the Syracusans became so powerful, that they gave, in some degree, law to the whole island. The Greek cities, indeed, enjoyed a perfect liberty, but, at the same time, acknowledged Syracuse as their metropolis. If that wealthy city had been contented with the respect which all the Greek colonies in Sicily willingly paid her, as the most able to protect them against any foreign invasion, the island would have enjoyed a lasting tranquillity; but she began, by degrees, to assume the authority of a sovereign over cities that were no less free than herself, which gave rise to the wars which we are now to relate. She began with the Leontines; invading, on what pretence we know not, their territory; she laid waste that fruitful country, and reduced the city of Leontini to great straits. The inhabitants, not being able to make head against the superior forces of the Syracusans, had recourse to the Athenians, from whom they were originally descended; for the Leontines came from Chalcis, which was an Athenian colony. On this occasion they employed one Gorgias, the most famous orator of his time, and who is said to have been the first that taught the rules of rhetoric. But there needed no great eloquence to persuade the Athenians to interest themselves in the affairs of Sicily. Ever since the time of Pericles they had meditated the conquest of that island. Pericles, indeed, had always endeavoured to check them in this ambitious project, remonstrating, that by living in peace, and contenting themselves with the conquests they

² Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

had already made, without engaging in hazardous enterprises, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition. The authority he had, at that time, over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, yet could not suppress the inclination they had to conquer it. At the times we are now writing of, they were masters at sea, and every where successful; they had many confederates, a numerous army, experienced commanders, and, in ready money, above ten thousand talents. With these advantages they did not doubt but they should be able to overcome the Lacedæmonians, with whom they were then at war, and, at the same time, reduce the island of Sicily. These considerations, and not the specious oratory of Gorgias, induced them to espouse the cause of the oppressed Leontines. Accordingly they sent, without delay, a hundred sail of ships well manned, under the command of Lachetes and Chabrias, enjoining them to make a descent on the territories of Syracuse. These, arriving at Rhegium, were joined by a hundred more from the Athenian colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the Æolian islands, which were, at that time, in confederacy with Syracuse, and, defeating the Myleans as they were marching to join the Syracusans, took their city, and committed great devastations in the enemy's country. Encouraged with this success, the Athenians sent forty ships more to reinforce their squadron, which now consisted of two hundred and fifty sail. But, in the mean time, the Leontines, being sensible that the Athenians aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty of the whole island, concluded a separate peace with the Syracusans, and were all made free of Syracuse. The Athenians being, by this agreement, disappointed in their hopes of conquering Sicily, vented their rage, according to the custom of popular governments, upon those who had commanded in an expedition that had not been attended with all the success which they expected from it. Pythodorus and Sophocles were banished, and Eurymedon was sentenced to pay a heavy fine. The Athenians were, at that time, which was the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, so insatuated by their prosperity, that they believed no power was able to resist them^a.

Yr. of Fl.
1922.
Ante Chr.
426.

The Athenians attempt the conquest of Sicily.

Yr. of Fl.
1934.
Ante Chr.
416.

About ten years after, broke out the most memorable war that had ever been waged in Sicily. It was occasioned by a dispute arising between the inhabitants of Egesta and

^a Diod. Sic. lib. xii. cap. 7.

*War between the
Syracusans
and Athenians.*

Selinus, concerning their borders. The territories of the two cities were divided by a river, which the Selinuntines crossed, and possessed themselves of the lands lying next to it, pretending that they had formerly belonged to them. This provoked the Egestines, who, after having endeavoured in vain to recover their property by fair means, took up arms, and drove out the intruders by force. The Selinuntines, on the other hand, unwilling to part with those lands, though they could not make good their claim to them, raised an army, entered the territories of the Egestines in a hostile manner, and laid waste the whole country. The Egestines had recourse again to arms, but were entirely defeated, and forced to shelter themselves within their walls. In this condition they sent ambassadors to solicit succours from Agrigentum, Syracuse, and even from Carthage; but none of these states would concern themselves with their disputes. It was therefore, at last, resolved, in their general assembly, that ambassadors should be sent to Athens, to implore the assistance of that republic, and to promise that they, in their turn, would help the Athenians to the utmost of their power whenever they should stand in need of their assistance. Their ambassadors arriving at Athens, represented, among other things, that, should they be abandoned, the Syracusans, who secretly supported the Selinuntines, would not fail to possess themselves of their city, and, by degrees, become masters of the whole island; in which case they would be able to send powerful succours to the Lacedæmonians, who were their founders. The Athenians were overjoyed to have a new opportunity of intermeddling with the affairs of Sicily: however, they thought it adviseable first to send deputies thither, to enquire into the state of the island, and particularly of the Egestines; for these last had promised to pay all the troops that should be sent to their assistance.

The Athenians imposed upon by the Egestines.

Nicias opposes the invading Sicily.

Upon the arrival of the ambassadors the Egestines, having borrowed from the neighbouring nations a great many gold and silver vessels, made a vain shew of them to the Athenians, telling them, that they had gold and silver enough to defray the whole charges of the war. When the ambassadors returned to Athens, and the great wealth of the Egestines noised abroad, an assembly of the people was called to deliberate on the war which was to be waged in Sicily. Nicias, a man of no small authority among the people, argued with great prudence against the war, shewing that it was impossible to contend with the Lacedæmonians,

dæmonians, and, at the same time, send so great a force, as would be necessary, into Sicily: that it was a kind of madness to entertain thoughts of subduing so powerful an island, when they had not yet been able to reduce Greece; that they ought first to humble the enemies they had at their doors, before they went in search of others at a distance, &c. But the contrary opinion, which was supported by Alcibiades, the most eloquent speaker at that time in Athens, prevailed by a great majority. It being now determined to pursue this wild enterprize at all events, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, were appointed to command the fleet, with full power, not only to succour Egesta, but to regulate affairs in Sicily in such a manner as they judged best for the interest of the republic. This commission Nicias accepted much against his will, being firmly persuaded, that it could not be attended with success, and dreading to have Alcibiades for his colleague. But the Athenians could not be prevailed upon to commit the whole management of the war to Alcibiades; judging wisely, that his ardour and intrepidity wanted to be tempered with the wariness and prudence of Nicias ^b.

The Athenians resolve to invade Sicily.

Nicias, not daring openly to oppose any longer an expedition on which all Athens was so violently bent, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by starting a great many difficulties, drawn from the great expences the republic must be at in carrying it on. But all he could allege, instead of cooling the ardour of the people, served only to inflame it the more. Nay, an Athenian, standing up in the assembly, and addressing Nicias, desired him not to shift off, or delay the business any longer, but declare there what forces he would have the Athenians decree him. Nicias answered, that he could not exactly tell, before he advised with his fellow-commanders; but, as far as he could judge, a hundred gallies, and five thousand land-forces, at least, would be requisite. Hereupon full power was unanimously granted him to raise what forces; and fit out what ships he thought necessary. Accordingly the levies were carried on at Athens, and the confederate cities, with such success and expedition, that, in a few days, the number of troops he required was raised, and the gallies manned and equipped. When all things were ready for their departure, the officers, before they went on board, had a private conference with the senate concerning the administration of affairs in Sicily; for they

Raise forces, and equip a fleet.

^b Thucyd: & Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

did not doubt but they should reduce the island. In this conference it was determined, that the Syracusans, and the Selinuntines their allies, should be carried away, and sold for slaves, and the rest obliged to pay an annual tribute, and live according to the laws of Athens^c.

*The fleet
sails.*

Next day the army, consisting of seven thousand chosen men, marched from the city to the pyrazum, where the fleet lay; and there, taking leave of their friends and relations, went on board the transports, amidst the shouts and acclamations of an immense multitude that had attended them from the city. They first sailed to the island of Ægina, and from thence to Corcyra, which they had appointed the place of rendezvous for their allies and the transports. Upon the arrival of their confederates at Corcyra, they put to sea again, and made for Tarentum; but meeting there with a very indifferent reception, they sailed along the coast of Italy till they came to Rhegium, where they made some stay, with a view to prevail upon the inhabitants to succour the Leontines, who were originally Chalcidians as well as themselves. But the Rhegians answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the other Greek states in Italy.

*Nicias's
prudent
advice.*

During their stay here, they sent some ships to cruise off the coast of Sicily, in order to discover some proper place for landing the troops, and at the same time to know what treasure the Egestines could contribute towards carrying on the war, which had been undertaken on their account. These, on their return, acquainted the generals, that the Egestines had imposed upon them, and abused their credulity, since they were a poor indigent people, and had only thirty talents in the public treasury. Hereupon a council of war being called, Nicias was of opinion, that they should sail to Selinus, which had been the first occasion of this expedition; and then, if the Egestines performed their promise, and supplied the army with a month's pay, to oblige the Selinuntines and Egestines to come to an agreement; and so return to Athens, without engaging their country in so expensive a war. By these means Athens, said he, will shew her readiness to assist her friends, and at the same time save her men and treasure for some more promising enterprize. Alcibiades, on the other hand, thinking it highly dishonourable to return home without making any conquests, after they had

*Opposed by
Alcibiades.*

^c Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

set out with such a parade, was of opinion, that they should solicit the cities of Sicily to a confederacy against the Syracusans and Selinuntines; and, in case they found them disposed to come into their measures, attack either Syracuse or Selinus; the former, if they refused to restore the inhabitants of Leontini to their city; and the latter, if they did not conclude a peace with the Egeftines. Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; he was for sailing directly to Syracuse, and laying siege to the city before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. But the opinion of Alcibiades prevailing, they set sail for Sicily ^d.

And Lamachus.

Advice of this expedition coming to Syracuse from all quarters, it was thought so improbable there, that no one would give credit to it. But as it was daily more and more confirmed, the Syracusans began seriously to think in what manner they should oppose so great a power. They sent deputies to every part of the island, soliciting succours against an enemy, who, as was evident from such great preparations, could have nothing less in view than the subjecting of the whole island; they garrisoned all the forts and castles in the country, reviewed their troops, made ready their arms and engines, and, in short, prepared all things, as if the enemy had been already in the heart of their country ^e.

The Syracusans prepare for war.

In the mean time the Athenian fleet arriving in Sicily, the land-forces were put a-shore near Catana, which city they took by surprize; Naxos opened its gates to them; Hyccara, a small town belonging to the Sicilians, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants were sold for slaves. These were the only exploits of this campaign; which being ended, and the winter now drawing on, the Athenian generals thought it adviseable to take up their quarters in some place near Syracuse, that they might be in readiness to undertake the siege of that place early in the spring. But in the mean time Alcibiades being called home to take his trial, the command of the army was left to Nicias and Lamachus. These, advancing towards Syracuse, possessed themselves of an advantageous post by the following stratagem: they sent a person, on whose fidelity they could depend, to Syracuse; enjoining him to acquaint the Syracusans, as if he had been dispatched from their friends in Catana, that the Cataneans had con-

The Athenians land in Sicily, and reduce several places.

Alcibiades recalled.

Nicias and Lamachus possess themselves of a strong post by stratagem.

^d Diod. Sic. ibid. Plut. in Nic. Thucyd. lib. vi. ^e Diod. Sic. ibid. Plut. in Nic. Thucyd. lib. vi.

The Syracusans put to flight by Nicias.

spired to fall upon the Athenians, who were quartered in the city, in the night; and that, if the Syracusans would advance to the Athenian camp, with all their forces, they might easily possess themselves of it in that confusion. The Syracusans, not suspecting any deceit, appointed a night; and, at the time agreed on, marched out with the flower of their troops to join the Cataneans. But the Athenians, in the mean time, having re-embarked their forces and ammunition, set sail for Syracuse; and, without any opposition, landed near Olympicum, where they fortified their camp with strong intrenchments, before the Syracusan forces returned from Catana. The Syracusans, finding themselves thus imposed on, marched back to Syracuse with great expedition, and the very next day drew up their army in battle-array before the enemy's camp. Nicias marched out of his trenches to give them battle, which was fought with incredible bravery on both sides. Victory was a long time doubtful; but a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, falling unexpectedly, so terrified the Syracusans, the greatest part of whom had never before carried arms, that they began to retire. The Athenians durst not pursue them, because their horse, who were still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. They therefore withdrew in good order, after having thrown a detachment into the temple of Olympicum, to prevent its being plundered^f.

The Athenians reinforced.

After this battle the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuse, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana to winter there, and in the mean time procure new supplies, both from Athens, and their confederates in Sicily. The messengers they sent to Athens soon returned with three hundred talents, and some troops of horse; the Egestines likewise, and the Siculi, sent them a reinforcement of cavalry, and furnished their army with all sorts of provisions. On the other hand, the Syracusans dispatched ambassadors to Corinth, whence they originally came, and also to Lacedæmon, to implore their assistance against an enemy, who aimed not only at the sovereignty of Sicily, but of all Greece. The ambassadors were kindly received in both places, especially at Lacedæmon, where Alcibiades, who had taken sanctuary in that city, enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence. At his persuasion Gylippus, an officer of

^f Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. p. 137, 138. Thucyd. lib. vi. p. 453, 454-

great experience, was appointed to command the reinforcement, which was designed for Sicily, and troops were raised with a design to invade the territories of Athens, and thereby make a powerful diversion. But, before any supplies arrived in Sicily, Nicias leaving his winter-quarters, set sail for Syracuse; and, arriving there in the night, before the Syracusans had any notice of his departure from Catana, possessed himself of the important post of Epipolæ (T).

Gylippus sent by the Lacedæmonians to the assistance of the Syracusans.

The Syracusans attempted to dislodge him; but, after a sharp engagement, were driven back into the city, with the loss of three hundred men. Nicias, encouraged by this success, began to build a wall round the city, in order to cut off from the besieged all communication with the neighbouring country. This work was carried on with such vigour and resolution, as astonished the Syracusans, who indeed made frequent sallies, but were always repulsed with great loss. The wall was at last finished, and the city blocked up on all sides. However, the besieged were not so far disheartened as not to annoy the enemy with vigorous sallies; in one of which they put the Athenians to flight, demolished part of their works, and made a great slaughter of those who defended them; among the rest Lamachus, one of their best commanders, was slain, with several other officers of distinction. Notwithstanding this advantage gained by the Syracusans, Nicias, who was now the sole general, pursued the siege; and, after repairing his works, began a wall of circumvallation, in order to prevent any succours from being thrown into the place. He caused also the canals to be cut, by which water was conveyed into the place, which soon brought the Syracusans to the utmost distress. Seeing themselves, therefore, on the brink of ruin, and without any hopes of relief, they began to think of capitulating; and accordingly an assembly was held to settle the articles, in order to send them to Nicias.

Lamachus slain.

But before they came to any determination, an officer, named Gongyles, arriving from Corinth on board a gal-

Gylippus arrives in Sicily.

(T) Epipolæ was a hill which stood without the city, and commanded it. It was exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. At the time of the siege we are speaking of, it

was not surrounded with walls, as in after ages. The pass leading to it was called Eusye-lus. On the top of the hill was a fort called Labdalon (1).

(1) Thucyd. lib. vi.

*Gylippus
enters Sy-
racuse.*

ley, brought them the joyful news of the approach of Gylippus, with a force sufficient to dispel all their fears, and oblige the enemy to raise the siege. The joy which this news, so unexpected, diffused through the city, is not to be expressed. They passed from one extreme to another; and, instead of capitulating, began to prepare themselves for new sallies, in order to facilitate Gylippus's entrance into the city. While they were making these preparations, Gylippus appeared at the head of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and, making directly for Epipolæ, where Nicias had fortified himself in a castle called Labdalon, drew up his small army under the walls, and then sent a herald to Nicias, to let him know, that he would allow him only five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condescend to return any answer to this message; whereupon Gylippus, attacking the fort, carried it by storm, and put all the Athenians in it to the sword. This success opened him a way into the city, where he was received with loud acclamations, and honoured as the deliverer of Syracuse. Having allowed his troops a few days rest, he marched out with his own, and the Syracusan forces to demolish the enemy's works; whereupon a sharp engagement ensued, in which many were killed on both sides; but at length the Athenians prevailed. Their victory was chiefly owing to the narrowness of the place, which rendered the Syracusan cavalry and bow-men quite unserviceable. Gylippus, to encourage his soldiers, reproached himself with the ill success they had met with, and publicly declared, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat. However, he promised to give them very soon an opportunity of retrieving both their honour and his. Accordingly the next day he led them against the enemy, and gained a very considerable victory &c.

*New sup-
plies for the
Syracusans
from Co-
rinth.*

After this success thirteen galleys arrived from Corinth, with considerable supplies both of men and money for the Syracusans; and Gylippus, not content to send ambassadors to the cities of Sicily, went himself from town to town, soliciting them to join him. By these means he raised above three thousand men; and returned to Syracuse. Nicias, on the other hand, finding his troops lessen daily, in proportion as those of the enemy increased, began to be disheartened, and wrote to the Athenians in

† Diodor. Sicul. *ibid.* p. 138. Thucyd. lib. vi. p. 471. Plut. in Nic. p. 534.

the strongest terms, shewing, that without powerful supplies both by sea and land, the enterprize would prove abortive, and the small army remaining be lost. His letter made a great impression on the minds of the Athenians, who immediately nominated two officers, who served under him, Menander and Euthydemus, to assist him till other generals should be sent; for he had desired, on account of his bad state of health, a colleague, to bear part of the burden and care of the war. Eurymedon and Demosthenes were chosen to succeed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former set out immediately, with ten galleys, and a considerable sum of money, to assure Nicias, that a speedy succour should be sent him; the latter was employed in raising troops, and equipping ships, in order to sail the following spring.

Eurymedon and Demosthenes sent from Athens into Sicily.

On the other side, the Lacedæmonians having, at the instigation of Alcibiades, broken the truce they had made with the Athenians, invaded Attica, under the command of Agis and Alcibiades, in order to divert them from sending any supplies into Sicily: but they were so infatuated with the Sicilian expedition, that, notwithstanding the straits they were in at home, they decreed eighty galleys, and five thousand land-forces, to be sent into that island. The Syracusans, hearing that the enemy was soon to be reinforced with such powerful supplies, fitted out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to venture a sea-engagement, and destroy the Athenian ships that blocked up the city by sea, before they were joined by the squadron which Demosthenes was bringing over into Sicily. With this view they sailed out, with a fleet of eighty sail, well manned; and being met by the Athenian fleet, consisting of sixty sail, a sharp engagement ensued, which drew the Athenians from their posts to the sea-side. But while they were standing on the shore idle spectators of the combat, Gylippus, who foresaw this opportunity, attacked the forts unexpectedly. As great part of the garrison had flocked to the shore, he possessed himself of them with little opposition, and made a dreadful slaughter of those who hastened from the shore to the assistance of their companions. Hereupon a great noise and tumult arising in the camp, the Athenians engaged at sea were struck with terror, and made what haste they could to gain the shore, and there assist their land-forces, in the defence of the forts: but finding, as they drew near, that Gylippus was already in possession of the posts they

A sea fight between the Athenians and Syracusans.

The Syracusans successful by land, and the Athenians by sea.

they were coming to defend, they tacked about; and, with their whole fleet in line of battle, attacked the Syracusans, who were pursuing them in disorder, sunk eleven of their vessels, killed great numbers of their mariners, and made ample amends for the battle they had lost by land, with a complete victory by sea. After the fight both parties set up trophies; the Athenians for their victory by sea, and the Syracusans for their success by land. The Athenians lost, in the forts that were taken, all their treasure, and great part of their provisions and military stores.

The Syracusans, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained by sea, were determined to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the success which Demosthenes was bringing should arrive. In order, therefore, to provoke the enemy to engage, they daily drew up their fleet in line of battle before the great harbour, where the Athenian fleet was anchored; and, with biting jokes and raillery, put their patience to the utmost trial. Nicias was against venturing a second battle, saying, that as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a strong reinforcement, it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he hazard a battle without being forced to it, when his troops were inferior to those of the enemy, and already fatigued. On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who had been appointed to share the command with him till the arrival of Demosthenes, eager to perform some exploit before they resigned their commission, represented to Nicias, that should they decline a battle, the reputation of the Athenian arms would be lost, and they forsaken by all their allies in Sicily. They were so pressing with Nicias, that they forced him at last to compliance; and accordingly the fleet, consisting of seventy-five gallies, sailed out of the harbour. The first day the two fleets continued in sight of each other, without engaging; the second some vessels engaged; but neither side gained any considerable advantage. On the third day the Syracusans drew up their navy earlier than usual; and having continued so till the evening, they withdrew, as they had done the day before: the Athenians supposed they were not to return that day, and therefore began to retire, without observing any order, when the enemy's fleet, sailing out of the little harbour, attacked the Athenians before they had time to draw up in line of battle. Victory did not continue long in suspense; the Athenians were put

*Another
sea-fight;*

*to the dis-
advantage
of the Athe-
nians.*

put to flight, after having lost seven galleys, and a great many men, some being killed, and others taken prisoners^b.

This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation, and renewed the memory of all the misfortunes he had met with since his first coming into Sicily: but while he was revolving in his mind these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes' fleet appeared, advancing to the great haven, with an appearance which filled the enemy with dread. This fleet consisted of seventy-three galleys, having on board eight thousand men, besides mariners, and great store of provisions, and warlike engines, to be employed in the siege. All the vessels were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with costly streamers: they were manned with chosen rowers, commanded by experienced officers, and furnished, at a vast expence, with all sorts of warlike machines then used in naval engagements. As they approached the shore, the sound of the trumpets, mixed with repeated shouts and loud acclamations, from the fleet and the camp, made all the city resound. This air of pomp and triumph Demosthenes affected purposely to strike terror into the enemy. The besieged, notwithstanding their late advantages, began now to be quite disheartened, finding they had to combat an enemy who could send such powerful succours abroad, while they had a war on their hands at home. The common people were for putting an end to their calamities, by capitulating before the city was reduced to the last extremity, and while they could hope for tolerable terms: but Demosthenes did not give them time to come to any resolution; for, thinking it advisable to take advantage of the general consternation which his arrival had occasioned, he prepared to attack the city the same day he arrived, being determined either to put a speedy end to the war or raise the siege, and return to the relief of Athens, which was, in a manner, blocked up by the Lacedæmonians. Nicias, alarmed at this bold and precipitate resolution, conjured him not to be over-hasty, but to take time to weigh things maturely, that he might have no cause to repent when it would be too late: he observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that they were in great want both of money and provisions; that their allies were ready to abandon them; and that they would be soon forced to surrender, as they had before resolved to do. This Nicias said, because he had certain advice sent him daily of what-

Demosthenes arrives from Athens with new supplies.

^b Diodor. Sicul. Thucyd. & Plut. ubi supra.

ever was transacted in the city: but his remonstrances were construed as an effect his dilatory disposition. And, indeed, it was peculiar to him to start difficulties on all occasions, and deaden the vivacity of the troops by delays, distrusts, and timorous precautions. All the officers, therefore, came over to the opinion of Demosthenes; and Nicias himself was forced to acquiesce¹.

The Athenians defeated before Syracuse.

A general assault being resolved on, Demosthenes marched, in the middle of the night, to attack the important post of Epipolæ; and was, at first, attended with success, having made himself master of the castle, and cut the garrison in pieces. Gylippus, at the first alarm, hastened to the relief of the place; but his troops being seized with a panic, which was increased by the darkness of the night, were easily repulsed, and put to flight: as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to prevent their rallying, they met with a body of Bœotians, under the command of Hermocrates, an officer of great courage and experience, and were by them stopped, till the Syracusans had time to recover from their surprize. Then Gylippus, encouraging his men, brought them back to the charge, and the engagement was renewed. The Athenians, though in disorder, stood their ground for some time; but, at last, fresh troops continually arriving from the city, they were forced to give way; and not knowing the roads, many of them either fell from the tops of the rocks, and were dashed in pieces, or were slain the next day, as they were straggling up and down the fields. Two thousand Athenians were killed on this occasion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken.

Demosthenes is for abandoning the enterprise.

After this overthrow Demosthenes was for returning to Athens, especially as the season was not too far advanced for crossing the sea, and they had ships sufficient to force their passage in case the enemy should dispute it. He declared, that, in his opinion, it would be of far greater advantage to oblige the Lacedæmonians to raise the blockade of Athens, than to continue that of Syracuse, in which they wasted their strength to no purpose. But Nicias had still hopes of becoming master of the city, which he knew to be in great want of all things; and besides, was under great apprehensions of the people of Athens, who had banished two generals in former times for returning from Sicily, though they had acted a very prudent part. He

¹ Thucyd. lib. vii. p. 513—518. Plut. ubi supra, & in Lib. de Superstit. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

said, that as those who were to judge him had not been eye-witnesses of the state of affairs, they would be of a different opinion; and that those very men, who then exclaimed against the difficulties they laboured under, would perhaps change their tone, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege. He concluded by declaring, that he chose rather to fall gloriously by the enemy's sword, than be ignominiously condemned by the suffrages of the people. These reasons were not able to convince Demosthenes, who was still of opinion, that the only way left to save themselves was to quit the country; however, as he had been unsuccessful in his former advice, he was afraid of insisting upon this, and yielded to Nicias^k.

But is opposed by Nicias.

In the mean time the Syracusans were reinforced with powerful supplies from the Siculi, Selinuntines, Geleans, and Camarineans; which encouraged them as much as it disheartened the Athenians, in whose army a violent plague broke out, occasioned by the unwholesome air of the fens and marches, near which they were encamped. This calamity, added to many others, made Nicias alter his opinion; and orders were privately issued, enjoining the officers of the fleet to be in readiness to set sail at a minute's warning. The soldiers were commanded to ship all their baggage, and be ready to go on board upon a signal that should be given. But when all things were ready, and most part of the soldiers embarked, without the Syracusans having the least suspicion of their design, the moon was suddenly eclipsed; a circumstance which so terrified Nicias, who was naturally superstitious, that he consulted the soothsayers before he suffered the rest of the soldiers to go on board. It was customary, on such occasions, to suspend the enterprize for three days; but the soothsayers, whom Nicias consulted, pronounced, that he must not set sail till three times nine days were past; which, without all doubt, was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people^l.

The Syracusans reinforced.

The plague in the Athenian army.

Nicias deterred, by an eclipse, from returning to Greece.

The Syracusans, in the mean time, receiving notice of the intended departure of the Athenians, resolved to attack them both by sea and land. Pursuant to this resolution, they sailed out with sixty gallies against the Athenian fleet, consisting of eight-six. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, extended his line, as he had more ships, in order to surround the opposite

The Athenian fleet defeated, and the admiral killed.

^k Thucyd. lib. vii. p. 51⁸—520. Plut. in Nic. p. 538—542. Diodor. Sicul. p. 142.

^l Idem ibid.

The Athenians gain some advantage by land.

wing of the enemy: but being, in this attempt, separated from the rest of the fleet, he was driven by Agatharcus, the Syracusan admiral, into the gulf called Dasion, and there killed, with great part of his men. The death of the admiral disheartened both the soldiers and officers, who now every where gave way; and, being chased by the enemy, sheltered themselves within the haven. In this engagement the Athenians lost eighteen ships, and two thousand men. Gylippus, who commanded the land-army, seeing the enemy's galleys forced ashore, advanced with part of his troops, to attack such as landed; but was repulsed by the Tuscans, who guarded that quarter, and driven into the marsh called Lyfimelia, where many of his men were killed by the Tuscans, and Athenians, who flew to their assistance. Each party erected trophies, the Syracusans for their victory by sea, and the Athenians for the advantage they had gained by land: but the minds of the two nations were differently disposed; the Syracusans, who had been so terrified at the arrival of Demosthenes, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, their courage revived; on the contrary, the Athenians, overcome by sea, contrary to their expectation, lost all hopes, and only thought of retreating.

The enemy, to prevent their escaping by sea, blocked up the entrance of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with ships and galleys joined together with anchors and iron chains. The Athenians, seeing themselves thus pent up on all sides, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should attempt, at all adventures, to break through the fleet that shut up the harbour, and retire, with all their forces on board, to Catana; but if they should not succeed in this undertaking, to set fire to their ships, and march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies. Pursuant to this resolution, the flower of the troops, and the most experienced among the officers, were put on board a hundred and fifteen galleys, and the rest of the army drawn up in battalia on the shore. On the other side, the Syracusans fitted out seventy-four galleys, which they stationed, with many other vessels, behind those that blocked up the harbour; to the end that, if any of the latter were sunk, or the chains which joined them, broken, the Athenians might yet find themselves a second time stopped and entangled. As this engagement was to determine the fate of Syracuse, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city, were filled with crouds of spectators.

The

The commanders, on both sides, employed all their eloquence to animate their men. Nicias, leaving his post on the shore, went on board a vessel; and, sailing round the Athenian fleet, exhorted the commander of each galley, in particular, to behave like an Athenian; because on their valour, in the approaching fight, depended the safety and preservation of their wives, their children, and their country, as well as their own. Nicias was scarce returned to his post, when the trumpets sounded the charge, and the Athenian fleet advanced with great violence, to break the blockade at the mouth of the harbour; but the Syracusan galleys, which had been left within the vessels chained together, on purpose to stop the fury of the enemy, rowed up against them with such impetuosity, that they put both their own and the enemy's fleet into the utmost confusion. In this disorder the lines on both sides being broken, and the vessels dispersed, they engaged in small squadrons: however, the fight was obstinate on both sides. The Athenians, seeing they were utterly lost, unless with an invincible resolution they forced their passage, despised all dangers, and fought like men in a desperate condition; on the other side, the Syracusans, knowing that they were observed by their parents and children, exerted their utmost efforts in defence of their country. The fight was no less dreadful than the confusion, and the slaughter great on both sides: the lamentable cries of the wounded, and those who were perishing in the water, the noise of the oars, and the loud shouts from the ramparts and the shore, where both armies were drawn up, prevented any orders from being heard or attended to. As the battle was fought under the walls of the city, parents were eye-witnesses of the death of their children; wives of the miserable end of their husbands; and one friend beheld another wallowing in his blood, without being able to lend him any relief. After the battle had lasted many hours, and both parties tired, and no longer able to manage either their arms or their oars, yet, if any of them offered to fly to the shore, they were driven back, with bitter reproaches, by their countrymen, under whose eyes they fought. The Athenians asked those who made to the shore, whether they intended to sail to Athens by land; and obliged them, though covered with wounds, to return to the charge. The Syracusans met with no better treatment from their countrymen, who prevented even those from landing whose ships were quite disabled, and ready to sink, bidding them save their lives by board-

*Another
sea-en-
gagement,*

*with great
slaughter
on both
sides,*

The Athenians defeated with great loss.

ing the enemy's ships, or die an honourable death in defence of their country. Thus the battle was continued the whole day; and it was by far the most bloody and obstinate which had ever been fought in those seas. At length the Athenians were, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, driven ashore; and the city immediately acquainted with the victory, by a universal shout from the fleet, which was answered by loud acclamations of joy from the army on the shore, and the spectators on the walls. The Athenians, who escaped, leaped out of their broken and shattered ships, and fled to the land-army. The Syracusans lost, on this occasion, eight ships, and had eleven disabled; the Athenians lost sixty, and most of the rest were rendered quite unserviceable^m.

The Athenians resolved to retire;

In this desperate condition, the Athenian officers met, to consider what measures they should take in so critical a conjuncture. Demosthenes was for manning with fresh soldiers the few galleys that remained; and, while the Syracusans were under no apprehension, on account of their late victory, to fall upon them again, and force their way out of the harbour. This was no ill advice; but Nicias opposed it. Others say, that the soldiers refused to obey, alleging, that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. It was thereupon determined to abandon the ships, and retire that very night, by land, to the cities of their confederates. But Hermocrates, commander in chief of the Syracusan forces, suspecting their design, ordered all his troops to be immediately drawn out, with a view to stop all the passes, and prevent their retreat. The Syracusans were then in the height of their rejoicings, thinking of nothing but how to divert themselves, after the toils they had sustained: they therefore unanimously declared, that they would not take up arms again, till they were allowed some days rest. Hereupon Hermocrates, thinking it of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to make their escape, since they might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and there begin a new war, devised the following stratagem to gain time: he sent some horsemen to the Athenian camp, who were to pass for friends, and advise Nicias not to quit his camp, which was well fortified, since the Syracusans lay in ambush for him, and had seized on all the passes leading to the cities of their allies. This false advice stopped Nicias at once, and he

but are prevented by a stratagem.

^m Diodor. & Thucyd. *ibid.*

did not even set out the next day, that his soldiers might have more time to refresh themselves, and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence. He might have passed with great safety had he not been thus deluded.

Next day Hermocrates, having prevailed upon his men to march out, possessed himself of the most difficult passes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and placed detachments of horse in different parts of the plains; so that there was not a single avenue, through which the Athenians were not obliged to fight their way. However, as they could no longer subsist in their camp, the third day after the battle they set out, to the number of forty thousand men, leaving behind them all their galleys, and great part of their baggage. The whole army was in the utmost consternation at seeing such great numbers of men, either dead or dying, abandoned to wild beasts, or the cruelty of the enemy. Some, who were sick, or wounded, hanging on the necks of their friends and companions, conjured them, with many tears, to take them along with the army; others, dragging themselves after, followed as far as their strength allowed them; and, when this failed, they had recourse to tears and sighs, calling upon the gods, as well as men, to revenge the cruelty they met with: so that every place echoed with groans and mournful lamentations. But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and which most deserved compassion, was Nicias himself: that great man, dejected and worn out with a tedious illness, destitute of all necessaries, when his age and infirmities required them most, tormented not only with his own grief, but with the affliction of others, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and rouse their valour. He hastened from one part of the army to the other, exhorting his men to exert themselves, by representing that matters were not yet desperate, since other armies had escaped much greater dangers; that they ought not to grieve immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that, if they had offended any god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them, &c. Above all, he insisted upon their marching in good order, since, by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they might not only

The Athenians in the greatest distress.

The Athenians encouraged by Nicias.

save themselves, but their country, and enable it to recover its former splendor^a.

*The Athenians
march off;*

*but are
greatly har-
assed by
the enemy.*

The hopes of the desponding army being somewhat revived by these exhortations, they marched out in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx. The van was led by Nicias, and the rear by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the centre. They forced their passage over the river Anapus, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with; but, being every day harassed by the Syracusan horse and bow-men, who were continually discharging showers of darts upon them, and finding all the passages guarded, so that they were obliged to dispute every inch of their way, they began again to despond. Nicias offered the enemy battle; but Hermocrates and Gylippus, not caring to engage men whom despair made invincible, retired as soon as they saw them drawn up in battalia; but, when they began to proceed on their march, attacked their rear with the utmost fury.

Demosthenes and Nicias, seeing the miserable condition to which the army was reduced (for many were daily wounded, and, besides, they wanted provisions, the enemy having laid waste the whole country through which they were to pass), resolved to alter their route; and, instead of pursuing their march for Catania, to turn towards the sea, and make the best of their way for Camarina and Gela. Accordingly, having lighted a great many fires in their camp, they retired in the dead of the night. The van-guard, led by Nicias, kept together, and advanced in good order; but half the rear, commanded by Demosthenes, fell into great confusion; and lost their way. However, they got early in the morning to the sea-side; but could have no advice of the rest of the army. In the mean time, the Syracusans, having intelligence of their march, followed them by break of day, and came up with Demosthenes about noon. The Athenians were then in some disorder, as not suspecting the enemy could overtake them so soon. The Syracusans failed not to take advantage of their confusion; and, immediately charging with their cavalry, forced them into a narrow pass, and there surrounded them on all sides. Demosthenes, seeing there were no hopes of escaping, after having fought from noon to night, thought it adviseable to save the lives of so many brave men by capitulating. Accordingly, having stipulated that neither he, nor any of his men, should be put

*Demosthenes and
his corps
forced to
surrender.*

^a Thucyd. & Diodor. *ibid.*

to death, or sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, they all, to the number of six thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered °.

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river Erineus, which he crossed, and encamped on an eminence, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender, as Demosthenes had done. Nicias, not believing what they told him of his colleague, obtained leave to send a horseman to enquire the truth. Upon the return of the messenger, being informed that Demosthenes had really surrendered, he sent a herald to the enemy's camp, offering to pay the whole charges of the war, upon condition that he was allowed to leave the country with all his forces. But, this proposal being rejected, the enemy attacked him with great vigour; and the Athenians, though tired with their long marches, and faint with hunger, stood their ground, till night put an end to the combat. When all things seemed quiet, Nicias commanded his men to file off in silence; for he was there in want of all necessaries: but they no sooner took up their arms, than the advanced-guards of the Syracusans gave the alarm; whereupon the Athenians, seeing themselves discovered, remained there all night. However, three hundred of them broke through the enemy's guards, and marched as far as they could that night. At break of day, Nicias pursued his march, being galled all the way by showers of darts. When they arrived at the river Asinarus, they rushed into it, without any order, every one striving to get over first; and, in that confusion, the Syracusan cavalry, advancing full gallop into the river, trod many of them down with their horses, cut others in pieces, and made such a dreadful havock of those unfortunate men, while they were not in a condition to make any resistance, that the Asinarus was, for many miles, dyed with their blood. On this occasion, above eighteen thousand Athenians were, by the merciless Syracusans, inhumanly butchered. Nicias, with a small body that escaped the slaughter, and kept together, being hemmed in on all sides, surrendered, not to the Syracusans, but to Gylippus, hoping to meet with better treatment from him, than from the Syracusans. The only condition he asked was, that their lives should be spared; which being granted, they threw down their arms, and surrendered. After this capitulation, the Syracusans detached several small

Nicias greatly harassed on his march.

Great slaughter of his men.

Nicias forced to surrender.

• Thucyd. & Diodor. *ibid.*

bodies of horse to all parts ; and these took the three hundred, who had forced their way through the guards the night before, with many others, whom they found straggling in the fields ; so that, out of so numerous an army, very few had the good fortune to escape either death or servitude ^p.

The Syracusans, upon this success, having erected two trophies, and fixed to them the arms of the two captive generals, returned to the city, which they entered in triumph, amidst the loud and joyful acclamations of their fellow-citizens, who flocked from all quarters to be spectators of so glorious a sight. The whole city returned thanks to the gods in the most solemn manner, for having auspiciously ended the greatest war they had ever been engaged in, and put a period to their calamities with a signal and complete victory ^q.

The assembly in Syracuse divided in their sentiments concerning the prisoners.

The next day, an assembly was called, to determine the fate of the captives ; when Diocles, a man of great esteem and authority among the people, was of opinion, that the two Athenian generals should be first whipped with rods, and then put to death ; that the rest should be shut up in the quarries, and there allowed only two small measures of flour, and one of water, a day ; and that the inhabitants of the island, who had joined them, should be sold for slaves. This opinion was strenuously opposed by Hermocrates, to whom the Syracusans were chiefly indebted for their late victory. He was a man highly esteemed for his eminent probity and justice ; but, nevertheless, so incensed was the multitude against the Athenians, that they would not suffer him to continue his speech. Hermocrates being thus interrupted by the shouts and clamours which echoed from all parts of the assembly, a venerable old man, named Nicolaus, who had lost in this war two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, rose up, supported by two of his servants. He no sooner offered to speak, than there was a profound silence, no one doubting but he would pronounce a bitter invective against the prisoners. Nicolaus, seeing the eyes of the whole multitude fixed upon him, in a most pathetic speech sued for their pardon ; and the people seemed to be moved to compassion : but the enemies of the Athenians expatiating on their inveterate hatred to the Syracusans, and the many calamities which they had brought upon them, the people returned to their former resolution, and fol-

^p Thucyd. & Diod. *ibid.*

^q Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

lowed the advice of Diocles. The generals were first whipped, and then put to death; all compassionate men bewailing the hard lot of two such illustrious personages, especially of Nicias, who, of all men of his time, least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery (U). The other prisoners were thrust down into the quarries, where, crouded upon one another, they suffered inexpressible miseries for the space of eight months. They were there continually exposed to the inclemencies of the air, and alterations of the weather; scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, and frozen in the nights by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, and the bodies of those who died of their wounds, and lay together in heaps; in fine, tormented with hunger and thirst, their allowance being scarce sufficient to keep them alive. Most of them died of the hardships they suffered; others were taken out of the quarries, and, being sold for slaves, met with more generous treatment from their masters, who, moved with compassion, and thinking they had already sufficiently atoned for any fault they could be guilty of, restored them to their ancient liberty.

The generals whipped, and put to death.

The hard fate of the other prisoners.

Such was the issue of this war, after it had lasted near three years, and cost the Athenians an immense treasure, without their reaping any thing from it but shame and dishonour. The Syracusans rewarded their allies, especially the Lacedæmonians, with great part of the spoils; what remained was divided among their own soldiers, and hung up in their temples, as monuments of the victory they had obtained by the powerful assistance of the deities worshipped there. Gylippus, on his return to Lacedæmon, was accompanied by five-and-thirty Syracusan gallies, which

Yr. of Fl.

1935:
Ante Chr.
413.

(U) Thucydides says, that Gylippus pleaded their cause with a great deal of eloquence, out of gratitude with regard to Nicias, who, after the overthrow which the Lacedæmonians received at Pylus, had persuaded the Athenians to restore the captives to their liberty; out of generosity with respect to Demosthenes, who had ever been a professed enemy to the Spartans. On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus

tells us, that Gylippus, seeing the people greatly affected by the speech of Nicolaus, and inclined to pardon the captives, effaced the good impressions he had made in their minds, and, by a most bitter invective against the Athenians, which our historian recites at length, so prejudiced the assembly against the generals, that they were immediately put to death.

were to be employed, under the conduct of Hermocrates, against the Athenians; but this fleet was entirely defeated in a sea-engagement near Abydos, and the commanders obliged to return to the defence of their own country, which was soon involved in a new war.

The Carthaginian war. The Egestines recur to the Carthaginians;

who attempt to create a misunderstanding between the Selinuntines and Syracusans;

but without success.

The Egestines, who had called the Athenians into Sicily, and adhered to them during the whole course of the war, dreading the resentment of the Syracusans, and being anew attacked by the Selinuntines, who laid claim to great part of their territories, had recourse to the Carthaginians, offering to put their city into their hands, and declaring, that they had rather live subject to Carthage than to Syracuse. After their ambassadors had delivered this message to the senate, the Carthaginians were greatly perplexed. On one side, they were desirous of getting foot again in Sicily, and possessing themselves of a city, which lay so convenient for them. On the other, they feared the power of the Syracusans, who had lately obtained so signal a victory over the Athenians, and would assist their ancient allies the Selinuntines. At last, the desire of enlarging their dominions prevailed, and the Egestines were promised succours. But, before the Carthaginians came to an open rupture, they attempted to sow seeds of division between the Selinuntines and Syracusans. With this view, they sent ambassadors to Syracuse, entreating that city to compose the differences of the contending parties in an amicable manner, and oblige the Selinuntines to content themselves with that portion of the lands in question, which they should think fit to allow them. They hoped, that, if the Selinuntines should decline the arbitration of the Syracusans, that would occasion a misunderstanding between the two cities; whence the Syracusans would not think themselves obliged to lend any assistance to the Selinuntines, who had refused their arbitration; nor the Selinuntines have the confidence to recur to the Syracusans, after they had thus affronted them, by rejecting their mediation.

But this effort of Punic policy did not succeed: the Syracusans indeed interposed their good offices; but finding the Selinuntines unwilling to come to an accommodation upon the terms they proposed, and remembering their eminent services during the late war, they would neither compel them to it, nor, for so slight a cause, renounce their alliance. Hereupon the Carthaginians, being resolved to get possession of Egesta, sent to the Egestines five thousand men from Africa, and eight hundred from Campania.

Campania. The latter had been hired by the Chalcidians to assist the Athenians against the Syracusans; but, after their overthrow, sailing back to Campania, remained there, in hopes that some state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly, the Carthaginians took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garrison at Egesta. These, in conjunction with the five thousand Africans, unexpectedly attacking the Selinuntines, put them to flight, killed a thousand of them on the spot, and took all their baggage. Upon this rupture between the two cities, both dispatched ambassadors to solicit succours from their confederates; the Selinuntines from the Syracusans, and the Egestines from the Carthaginians; which being promised on both sides, a dreadful war broke out between the Egestines and Carthaginians on one hand, and the Selinuntines and Syracusans on the other.

The Egestines begin the war.

The Carthaginians, foreseeing the greatness of the undertaking they were to embark in, committed the whole management of the war to Hannibal, empowering him to raise what forces he thought proper. He was grandson to Hamilcar, who had been defeated and killed by Gelon before Himera, and son to Gisco, who, being banished his country, had retired to Selinus, where he died for want of necessaries. As he bore, therefore, a natural hatred to all the Greeks, and was desirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he was indefatigable all that summer, and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in Africa, but in Spain and Italy, and making the other necessary preparations; insomuch, that in the beginning of the spring, he had no less than three hundred thousand men under his standard. These, besides an immense store of provisions, engines, arms, with all other things necessary for such an undertaking, he put on board sixty long gallies, and fifteen hundred transports; and setting sail, as soon as the season would allow, crossed the sea, and landed fast at a place called the Well of Lilybæum, where the city of Lilybæum was afterwards built. After he had landed his forces he caused all his ships to be drawn ashore, for fear of giving umbrage to the Syracusans; and then, being joined by the Egestines, marched to Selinus, which city he invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. The Selinuntines, who were the only people in Sicily that had joined the Carthaginians against Gelon, did not think they would have come

The Carthaginians side with the Egestines.

Hannibal, the son of Gisco, lands in Sicily. Selinus besieged by the Carthaginians.

come to such extremities; and therefore were, at first struck with great terror. However, as they expected speedy succours from Syracuse, and other confederate cities, they all united as one man, and made a vigorous defence; even the women and children, regardless of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their country^r.

The Selinuntines defend their city with great bravery;

As the walls were incessantly battered by the rams, and other warlike engines, a breach was soon opened; and the first who entered it were the Campanians, from an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest; but they were repulsed with great loss, as were the Africans and Spaniards whom Hannibal sent to support them. The fight lasted from noon till night, when Hannibal sounded the retreat. In the mean time the Selinuntines sent expresses to Agrigentum, Gela, and Syracuse, acquainting them with the state of affairs. The Agrigentines and Geleans immediately armed their troops, but waited for the Syracusan auxiliaries, with a design to attack the enemy with united forces. The Syracusans, likewise, without delay, drew together what forces they could assemble; but as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for some days, till they should get together a stronger force. But Hannibal, as soon as it was light, renewing the assault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened, near it: from thence, charging the besieged, he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city. Many fell on both sides; but the Carthaginians were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the Selinuntines had none to relieve them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the assault was daily renewed, for the space of nine days, with incredible slaughter.

but, in the end, it is taken and razed.

At length the besieged, being tired out, the Iberians, after a long contest, lodged themselves on the ramparts. From thence they advanced into the city; but finding all the streets and passages barricadoed, and being, at the same time, galled by showers of tiles and stones thrown by the women from the tops of the houses, they were obliged to retire to the ramparts. Next day they returned to the charge very early, and, by continually pouring fresh

^r Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. cap. 6 & 7.

men into the city, forced the Selinuntines to abandon the narrow streets, and pursued them into the market-place, where they made a stand, and were all, to a man, cut in pieces. Two thousand six hundred had, by the favour of the night, made their escape to Agrigentum, before the enemy had forced the narrow passes; so that there was not a man left alive in the city. The Carthaginians, ranging in all parts without restraint, rifled the houses, then set fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found, or, dragging them into the streets, put all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did this carnage satiate their inhuman cruelty, which they carried so far as to mangle, in a barbarous manner, even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about numbers of heads tied round their girdles, and others, out of ostentation, bearing the heads of the slain on the points of their swords and spears. The city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after it had been built; and the few women and children, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives. Those who fled to Agrigentum, were received there with great humanity and tenderness, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries out of the public stores* (W).

*Barbarity
of the Car-
thaginians.*

Hannibal, having thus taken and demolished Selinus, marched with all his army to Himera, extremely desirous

*Himera
besieged.*

* Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

(W) A few days after the city was taken, three thousand Syracusans arrived at Agrigentum, on their march to the relief of Selinus; but, understanding that the city was taken, they sent ambassadors to Hannibal, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him that he would at least spare the temples. Hannibal answered, that since the Selinuntines had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deserved to be treated like slaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and temples; whence it would be no sacrilege to strip them of

their ornaments. The Syracusans, not satisfied with this answer, sent a second embassy; and, on that occasion, employed one Empediones of Selinus, who had always been of the Carthaginian party, and advised the citizens to open their gates to them, when they first appeared before the city. Hannibal received him with great demonstrations of kindness, restored his estate, pardoned all those prisoners who were any way related to him, and permitted the others, who had fled to Agrigentum, to return, and people the city a-new, upon paying to the Carthaginians an annual tribute.

to

*Makes a
vigorous
defence.*

to revenge, on that city, the death of his grandfather Hamilcar, who had been slain by Gelon, with a hundred and fifty thousand Carthaginians. On his march he was joined by twenty thousand Siculi and Sicani, whom he sent, with the main body of the army, to lay siege to the city, while he, with a body of forty thousand men, encamped at a small distance from it. The Syracusans had sent four thousand men to the assistance of the Himereans, under the conduct of Diocles, before the city was invested; and the other confederates had likewise sent what troops they could well spare; wherefore the inhabitants, encouraged by these succours, and dreading to undergo the same fate as the Selinuntines, made a most vigorous defence. The Carthaginians made several breaches in the wall; but were constantly repulsed for several days successively, without being able to gain an inch of ground. This obstinacy, on the part of the besieged, did not a little discourage the enemy, notwithstanding their late success at Selinus; which the Himereans observing, made a sally with ten thousand men, cut many of the Carthaginians in pieces, and put the whole army to flight, pursuing them, with great slaughter, to the hill where Hannibal was encamped. That general, seeing his army in confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was renewed, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the Himereans, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole Carthaginian army, by which, however, they were all slain upon the spot.

*Part of the
Syracusans
return
from Himera.*

After this engagement twenty-five gallies appeared off Himera, and a report was spread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the Syracusans, with all their forces, were coming to the relief of the city. Hereupon Hannibal, having put the flower of his troops on board his gallies, prepared to sail for Syracuse, hoping to surprise the city, now that it wanted, as he supposed, sufficient forces to defend it: but those gallies proved to be the remainder of the fleet, which the Syracusans had sent some time before to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. As they touched at Himera, Diocles, commander in chief of the Syracusan auxiliaries there, advised them to sail with all speed to Syracuse, lest Hannibal should make any attempt upon that city. He thought it also advisable to leave Himera, and, with one half of his forces, to return to Syracuse in the gallies, leaving the other half behind, which he thought

thought sufficient to resist, till he, after putting his own city in a state of defence, should return. This disposition the besieged complained of; but could not prevail upon Diocles to alter his measures.

Upon his departure the Carthaginians redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls, night and day, without intermission. The besieged, believing the ships would return speedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulsing the enemy. Thus they opposed, against the repeated assaults and utmost efforts of above three hundred thousand men, till the day the fleet appeared, when the Carthaginians, summoning all their courage and resolution, gave a general assault. By dint of number they bore all before them, drove the citizens from the ramparts, and entered the city sword in hand. There is no sort of cruelty which the barbarous Carthaginians and Iberians did not practise on this occasion: all they met, without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly murdered; and the slaughter was so merciless, that the channels in the streets flowed with blood. After they had plundered the temples and houses, and levelled the city with the ground, Hannibal caused three thousand of the captives to be carried to the place where his grandfather had been defeated and killed by Gelon's cavalry, and, after exposing them to the insults of his barbarians, caused them to be cruelly massacred.

*Himera
taken and
razed.
Cruelty of
the Car-
thaginians.*

Thus ended this campaign; after which Hannibal, dismissing the Siculi and confederates, and disbanding the Campanians, embarked his troops, and set sail for Africa. When he arrived at Carthage, the whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations.

About this time disturbances arose in Syracuse, occasioned by the return of Hermocrates. This brave officer had signalized himself in the war against the Athenians, and had been afterwards sent, with a fleet of thirty-five galleys, as we have mentioned above, to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. During his absence, the contrary faction, headed by Diocles (X), prevailing, he was tried, and, without

*Hermoc-
rates ba-
nished.*

† Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

(X) Diocles was a man of great authority among the people. By his advice the form of government was altered after the first Carthaginian war, and the magistrates, contrary to the ancient custom, chosen by lot. He also instituted laws for the Syracusans, which were observed not only in the city of Syracuse,

*Attempts to
return by
force, and
is killed.*

without so much as being heard, condemned to banishment. As he was a man of great probity, and had, on all occasions, been very serviceable to his country, many of the citizens sought to have him recalled, knowing that his enemies had prevailed on the ungrateful multitude to banish him, merely on account of his virtue, which gave them no small umbrage : but all their endeavours proving unsuccessful, Hermocrates returned into Sicily ; and, having raised an army of six thousand men by the advice of his friends, he advanced to Syracuse, and surprised one of the gates of the city ; but the adverse party, running to arms, and furiously attacking his small army, cut most of them in pieces, and slew Hermocrates himself. All those, who had declared in his favour, were condemned to perpetual banishment, and, amongst the rest, his son-in-law Dionysius, who made the Syracusans pay dear for the excesses they committed on this occasion ^a.

*The Carthaginians
return to
Sicily.*

The late success of the Carthaginians in Sicily revived the design which they had ever entertained, of subduing

^a Diod. Sic. *ibid*,

Syracuse, but in most of the free states of Sicily, Diocles being highly esteemed by all for his wisdom and probity. Others, after his time, made laws, namely, Cephalus, who flourished under Timoleon ; and Polydorus, who was contemporary with Hiero ; but these were only called interpreters of the law, which was written in such obsolete language as was hardly understood : the title of law-giver was bestowed upon none but Diocles. He is said to have been a man of an inexorable nature, and great severity. Among the many laws he made, one was, that if any man came armed into the court where the public assemblies were held, he should be put to death, even though he had done it inadvertently. Not long after the publication of

this law, some of the neighbouring people having invaded the territories of Syracuse, Diocles put on his armour to march out against them ; but in the mean time a tumult arising in the court, he hastened thither to appease it with his sword by his side ; which one there present observing, cried out, that he transgressed the laws which he himself had made. Whereupon Diocles, drawing his sword, answered, that he would confirm them with his blood : and ran himself through in the court. After his death divine honours were paid to him, and a temple erected to his memory, which was afterwards pulled down by Dionysius, when he surrounded the city with a new wall (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. cap. 4.

the whole island. With this view, they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same Hannibal: but, as he pleaded his great age, and shewed himself unwilling to take upon him the command, and return to Sicily, they joined in commission with him Imilcar, the son of Hanno, one of the same family. These generals, being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers, with large sums, into Spain, Italy, Libya, Sardinia, and the Balearic islands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. When all their forces were mustered at Carthage, the army was found to consist of three hundred thousand chosen men, as Ephorus informs us; but Timæus says, that they amounted only to a hundred and twenty thousand, or thereabouts. All things being ready, the troops were embarked in a thousand transports, which, under the convoy of a numerous squadron of galleys, arriving safe in Sicily, landed on the coast of Agrigentum, and marched directly to that city *.

The Syracusans, and their confederates, had sent ambassadors to Carthage, to complain of the late hostilities committed against them by Hannibal, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any troops into Sicily. But the Carthaginians returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the Syracusans had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception; the Agrigentines especially, expecting this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, had carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following the directions of Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, an officer of great courage and experience. Hannibal, on his arrival before the city, sent ambassadors to the Agrigentines, inviting them either to join him, or stand neuter, declaring he would be satisfied with either, and forbear all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. But both proposals being rejected,

Agrigentum besieged;

But the defence was no less vigorous than the attack: the besieged, in the first fall they made, burnt all the enemy's engines, destroyed the towers they had raised

but makes a vigorous defence.

* Idem ibid.

against

against the city; and, after having made a great slaughter in the camp, returned in good order. Hereupon Hannibal commanded all the tombs, and stately monuments, near Agrigentum, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the walls. Soon after the plague broke out in the army, and, in a short time, carried off a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself (Y).

Hannibal dies.

The Syracusians send an army to the relief of the besieged;

In the mean time the Syracusians, having raised an army of above thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, sent them to the relief of the besieged, under the command of Daphneus. Imilcar, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the Iberians and Campanians, with forty thousand Carthaginians, enjoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river Himera. Pursuant to his orders the Syracusians were attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as they were advancing in good order through those large plains, towards Agrigentum. The dispute was sharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemies being far superior in number to the Syracusians: but at length the latter were victorious, and pursued the Carthaginians, with great slaughter, to the walls of Agrigentum. Upon the approach of the Syracusians, that body which was carrying on the siege, abandoning their posts, saved themselves by flight to Imilcar's camp, which was pitched on the neighbouring hills. Daphneus pursued them in good order, with a design to attack the camp; but finding it strongly fortified, he thought it more adviseable to guard all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry; and oblige the enemy either to perish with famine, or come out of their lines, and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the passages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted,

who defeat the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians reduced to great straits.

(Y) The Carthaginian soothsayers interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Wherefore Imilcar, in whom the whole power was now vested, ordered supplications to be made according to the practice of Carthage, and a boy to be sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a custom which had long obtained among the

Carthaginians. By his orders Neptune likewise was appeased, and several priests thrown into the sea, as the most pleasing victims to that deity. Imilcar having, as he imagined, by these cruelties atoned for the sacrileges of Hannibal, and pacified the gods, the assaults were renewed with more vigour than ever, and the city reduced to great straits.

that

that numerous army was soon brought to such straits, that the Campanians, and other mercenaries, began to mutiny; and going in a body to Imilcar's tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their usual allowance of bread. The general, with difficulty, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their present want for a few days, assuring them they should be very soon plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions.

He had been informed, that the Syracusans were then loading many ships with corn, to be sent to Agrigentum; and did not doubt but he should intercept the convoy, the Syracusans not suspecting that he would attempt any thing by sea. Accordingly he dispatched messengers to Motya and Panormus, where his fleet lay, enjoining the commanders to man the galleys with all possible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ships that were to bring the provisions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being speedily equipped, the Syracusan fleet, consisting of sixty transports, laden with corn, and all sorts of provisions, was intercepted. As this unexpected relief gave the Carthaginians fresh courage, so it greatly disheartened the Agrigentines, who having held out for the space of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved so speedily as their present necessity required. Eight hundred Campanians, who had formerly served under Hannibal, but were now in the service of the Agrigentines, observing the desperate condition the city was reduced to, went over in a body to the Carthaginians: Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, was said to have been bribed with fifteen talents by the Carthaginians, and to have advised the Campanians, and other Italian mercenaries, to desert, since they were likely to be starved in the city, without the least prospect of rendering any service to those who had hired them. Thus the mercenaries falling off, and the inhabitants desponding for want of necessaries, a council of war was summoned; when it was judged absolutely impossible to hold out, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the soldiery and people two days longer. Some were therefore for attacking the Carthaginians in their camp; others for abandoning the city, and transporting the inhabitants to some place of safety. This opinion prevailed; and the following night was fixed for their departure.

This resolution, when publicly known, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation; lamentable outcries

*Intercept
the Syracu-
san fleet,
laden with
provisions.*

*Agrigen-
tum dis-
tressed for
want of
provisions.*

*The inhabitants
abandon
the city;*

*and retire
to Gela.*

*The Carthaginians
practise all
sorts of
cruelty in
the city.*

were heard in every house; and the grief and dread they were all seized with, in seeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and estates, is not to be expressed. They were inconsolable to find themselves stripped, at once of all their riches; but as life was still dearer, and they expected no mercy from so cruel an enemy, they complied with the resolution, which had been taken in the council. What above all grieved them, was the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who, they knew, would be treated by the enemy with the utmost cruelty. Many could not abandon their sick parents and relations; they, therefore, stayed behind, to comfort them at their death, and then die by them; the rest, being guarded by the Syracusan troops, marched out, and arrived safe at Gela, where they were received with great kindness and humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries, at the expence of the public. The Syracusans, afterwards, granted them the city of Leontini, and its rich territory.

The Syracusan army was no sooner retired, than Imilcar, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without some fear and jealousy; and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as fled to the temples. Among these was Gellias (Z), a citizen fa-

(Z) Gellias was the richest citizen of Agrigentum, and is said to have built several rooms in his house, of an extraordinary size, for public entertainments, placing his servants at the gates, and charging them to invite all those who passed, to be his guests. Five hundred horsemen from Gela happening to pass through Agrigentum in winter-time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furnished them all on their departure, as it was rainy weather, with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. Polyclitus, the historian, as quoted by Diodorus, tells us, that when he served among the troops of Agrigentum, he saw a wine-

cellar in his house, which contained three hundred great vessels full of wine, each of which held a hundred amphoræ. This Gellias, as our author informs us, was of a very mean presence, but endowed with extraordinary parts. Being once sent with the character of ambassador to the Centuripines, when he appeared in the assembly, all who were present burst out in a loud laugh; so ridiculous was his aspect. But Gellias told them, that they ought not to be surpris'd at his mean figure and appearance, since the Agrigentines always sent the most comely and handsome men to the noblest cities, but to those that were insignificant, such as himself (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. cap. 12.

mous for his wealth and integrity, who seeing that the Carthaginians, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of Minerva, and consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. However, the booty which the enemy found in the place, was prodigious, and such as might be expected in one of the most opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An incredible number of pictures, vases, and statues, finished by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemy's hands, the Agrigentines having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull of Phalaris, which was sent to Carthage^p (A).

Imilcar having thus gained the city, after an eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the necessary refreshment. In the mean time, the deplorable fate of Agrigentum being publicly known, the whole island was struck with terror; and many of the inhabitants, forsaking their native cities, fled to Syracuse, or retired with their families and effects to Italy. Those who took sanctuary in Syracuse were treated with extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free: among them were many Agrigentines, who filled the city with their complaints against the Syracusan commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the enemy's hands. These accusations raised such disturbances in Syracuse, as gave Dionysius a fair opportunity of seizing on the sovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abused, and, by degrees, turned into licentiousness. The power of the populace was so great, that

^p Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

(A) Timæus endeavoured when he razed Carthage, about to prove in this history, as our two hundred and sixty years author tells us, that there never after the destruction of Agrigentum, found, among other and severely censured the credulity of those historians who things, this very bull, and restored it to the inhabitants of Agrigentum, where it was still propagated so ridiculous a fable. But the truth of their accounts was afterwards made his history; that is, in the reign plain; for Scipio Africanus, of Augustus (1).

(1) Diod. *ibid.* cap. 13.

the most worthy citizens had either abandoned their native country, or led at home a private life, through fear of raising any jealousy, or incurring their displeasure. The eminent services of their best commanders were often rewarded with death or banishment, the capricious multitude being led, by their groundless suspicions, to treat as enemies even those to whom they were indebted for their lives and safety: but Dionysius found means to curb their insolence, and to punish them as well for their cruelty towards strangers, as for their ingratitude towards their own citizens.

*Dionysius
stirs up the
people.*

Dionysius was a native of Syracuse, born, according to some, of a noble and illustrious family; according to others, of mean extraction. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to return to Syracuse by force of arms, after he had been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. Hermocrates was killed in the attempt, and many of his friends were afterwards publicly executed. Dionysius was dangerously wounded, and the report of his death, purposely spread abroad by his relations, saved his life. When the war broke out, he was, by the intercession of his friends, recalled, and distinguished himself in the battle fought near Agrigentum, in a very particular manner. When the Agrigentines charged the Syracusan officers with treachery; and alleged, that they had been seduced by the Carthaginians with bribes to betray their country, Dionysius supported their accusations, and even impeached the magistrates as keeping a secret intelligence with the enemy, and attempting to introduce an oligarchy. His speech, which was levelled against the wealthy and powerful citizens, and therefore agreeable to the humour of the people, set all the assembly in a flame; the people, already incensed against their commanders, being more exasperated by the speech of Dionysius, forthwith deprived them of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was Dionysius, now as much esteemed and favoured by the populace, as he had been lately persecuted and hated. Having gained this step to preferment, he began to consider how he might have his colleagues displaced, and the whole command of the army lodged in himself. With this view he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders, nor imparted to them his resolutions, giving out, that he durst not trust them, and that they had more at heart their own interest than the welfare of their country. While he was thus by degrees paving his way to the throne, the most prudent among the citizens,

*Is chosen
one of the
generals.*

citizens, being well apprised of his ambitious designs, complained of his proceedings to the senate and magistrates, who fined him as a disturber of the public peace. According to the laws, the fine was to be paid before he could speak in public, and Dionysius was not in a condition to discharge it. Hereupon Philistus, the historian, a man of great wealth, not only paid the fine, but encouraged him to speak his sentiments freely, as became a zealous citizen, offering to pay all the fines they should lay upon him. Dionysius, thus supported by the wealth of an opulent citizen, and the favour of the people, as he was an eloquent speaker, inveighed against all those, who, on account of their power and interest, were in a condition, to obstruct his designs, and by degrees brought them into disgrace with the people.

Another scheme, which he formed, was attended with all the success he could have wished, and greatly strengthened his party. There were, at that time, a great many Syracusan exiles in Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility had banished at different times, and under various pretences. These Dionysius looked upon as the most proper tools for the execution of his designs; for he did not doubt but their gratitude to him, and their hatred against those who had occasioned their misfortunes, would attach them to his party and interest. Wherefore, in one of the assemblies, that were then frequently held to deliberate on the state of affairs, he applied with his usual address to the people in behalf of the exiles. A decree had passed for raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were very uneasy on account of the expence which the new levies would amount to. Dionysius took advantage of this favourable juncture, and disposition of the people. He represented, that it was absurd and impolitic to bring troops from Italy and Peloponnesus at a great charge, when they might be supplied with excellent forces, without being at any expence; that, if they recalled their own countrymen, who were dispersed all over Sicily, they would, by that kindness, oblige them to sacrifice their lives in defence of those who restored them to their former condition, &c. His speech had such an effect on the people, that a decree was immediately passed in favour of the exiles. Many plainly perceived what he had in view, but none durst contradict him, knowing that he had gained such an ascendant over the people, that their opposition

*Gets the
Syracusan
exiles re-
called.*

1 Diodor. lib. xiii. cap. 12. Aristot. Polit. lib. v. cap. 6.

*Gains the
soldiery.*

would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the multitude against them, and raise the reputation of Dionysius, to whom alone the exiles would be indebted for their return. The decree was no sooner published, than the exiles flocked from all parts to Syracuse².

In the mean time the inhabitants of Gela, quarrelling among themselves, implored the protection of Syracuse, lest the common enemy should take advantage of their disagreement, and, by the assistance of one party, possess themselves of the city. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse; and, finding great confusion in the place, occasioned by the unjust pretensions of the nobility over the people, he sided with the latter, and caused those to be put to death, whom the people condemned in their assembly. Their estates he confiscated and sold, and with the money arising from the sale paid the soldiers, who were in garrison under Dexippus, their arrears, distributing the overplus among the troops that came with him from Syracuse. At the same time he assured them all, that their pay should be doubled; a promise which gained him the hearts of the soldiery. The Galeans treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent ambassadors to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them, in sending thither Dionysius.

During his stay at Gela, he endeavoured to gain over Dexippus to his views; but not being able to persuade the Lacedæmonian to come into his measures, he marched back to Syracuse with all his forces, promising to return speedily with a more numerous army. He arrived at Syracuse at the time the people were coming out of the theatre, who, thronging about him, enquired what news he brought concerning the Carthaginians. He answered with a dejected air, that the city had not so much cause to be afraid of them, as of her own officers and magistrates, who, instead of making the necessary preparations against the approach of so formidable an enemy, diverted the attention of the people with trivial amusements, and idle shews, and suffered the troops to want necessaries, converting their pay to private uses; that he had long suspected, but now saw plainly, what they aimed at; that Amilcar had sent an officer to him, under pretence of redeeming some captives, but in reality to persuade him not to pry too narrowly into the conduct of his

² *Iidem ibid.*

colleagues, and, if he would not enter into their measures, at least not to obstruct them; that he was determined to lay down his commission, that he might not leave any room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert with traitors, who basely sold their country.

This speech being circulated about the city, and among the troops, the next day an assembly was convened, when Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, and was heard with universal applause. At length some in the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, and that the measure ought not to be put off till the enemy was battering the walls; that the greatness of the war required such a commander; and that Gelon was chosen generalissimo on the like occasion, and defeated the Carthaginian army, consisting of three hundred thousand men. As for the traitors, they said, their cause might be referred to another time; but the present affair would admit of no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people, who are always apt to close with the worst advice, that instant elected Dionysius commander in chief, with an absolute and unbounded power.

All things succeeding thus according to his wish, he caused a decree to be passed, importing that the soldiers pay should be doubled, on the supposition that they would be thereby encouraged to fight more chearfully in defence of their country. When the assembly broke up, the Syracusans, upon reflection, began to repent of what they had done, sensible they had acted imprudently in putting the whole power into the hands of one man; a step which was, in effect, giving themselves a master. Dionysius perceiving their change of sentiment, thought of procuring a guard for his person; if he could only gain this point, he concluded he might easily usurp the sovereignty. With this view he commanded all that were able to bear arms, under forty years of age, to march with thirty days provisions to the city of Leontini, which belonged to the Syracusans, and was full of foreigners and exiles, persons very fit for the execution of his design. He encamped on the plains of Leontini, where he caused a great noise and clamour to be made in the night by his servants and attendants, pretending his enemies had attempted to assassinate him in his tent. In this alarm he fled to the castle of Leontini, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great many fires to be lighted, and drawn

Made generalissimo.

Procures a guard.

off with him such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day he acquainted the people of Leontini with the danger he had been in; and, feigning to be still under great apprehension, demanded a guard of six hundred men for the security of his person. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose a thousand men upon the spot, armed them completely, and encouraged them with great promises. He also attached the mercenaries strongly to his interest, by addressing them with great freedom and affability. He then made several alterations, and promotions in the troops, giving commissions to such as he could rely upon, and turning out those whom he distrusted. Among the latter was Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, whom he sent back into Greece, not doubting but the Syracusans would choose him for their general, if they should attempt the recovery of their liberty; for he was an officer of great experience, and could not, by any offers, be prevailed upon to countenance the views of Dionysius. At the same time he sent orders to the garrison of Gela to join him, and assembled from all quarters fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals^a.

Yr. of Fl.
1944.
Ante Chr.
404.

*Seizes on
the citadel,
and de-
clares him-
self king of
Syracuse.*

With this train he returned to Syracuse, which was greatly alarmed at his approach. But the people were no longer in a condition to oppose his designs, or dispute his authority; the city being full of mercenaries, who were in arms, and the Carthaginians with a numerous army on the frontiers. The first step he took, after his return to Syracuse, was to possess himself of the citadel, where the arms and provisions were lodged. These he no sooner saw himself master of, than, bidding defiance to his opposers, he publicly declared himself king of Syracuse, being then in the twenty-fifth year of his age. To strengthen himself the more in his tyranny, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, whose family was the most powerful of Syracuse, and gave his own sister in marriage to Polyenus, brother-in-law to Hermocrates. Afterwards he convened an assembly, in which he caused Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the most active in opposing him, to be condemned. Thus Dionysius, from a simple notary, as Diodorus informs us, raised himself to the sovereignty of the greatest and most opulent city of Sicily^b.

^a Idem ibid. & Aristides in Panathen.

^b Idem ibid.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians under the command of Amilcar, having, at the return of spring, raised the city of Agrigentum, marched with all their forces against Gela; and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and a wall, not doubting but Dionysius would come to the relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The Geleans, in the beginning of the siege, were for sending their wives and children to some place of safety; but not one of them could be prevailed upon to retire; all of them protesting, that they would undergo the fate of their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the Geleans to exert themselves with uncommon courage. They made several sallies, and cut great numbers of the enemy in pieces. No sooner was a breach opened in the wall, than the inhabitants repaired it, being indefatigably employed night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children cheerfully shared with them the labour and danger. Thus they held out a long time, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, against an army of above three hundred thousand men, without receiving any aid from their allies. At length Dionysius advanced to their relief, at the head of fifty thousand foot, and a thousand horse; but, after some unsuccessful attempts, not caring to risk all on the issue of a battle, he persuaded the inhabitants to abandon their country, as the only means to save their lives; and covered their retreat with the forces he had brought to relieve the place. The Carthaginians immediately entered the city, and either put to the sword, or crucified, all those they found within the walls. From Gela they advanced to Camarina, whither the Geleans had retired; and Dionysius, being informed of their march, obliged the Camarineans likewise to remove from their native city, and withdraw, with their wives and children, to Syracuse. The affecting sight of aged persons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength from two several cities in one and the same country, and stripped of all their wealth and possessions, raised compassion in the breasts of Dionysius's soldiers, and incensed them against the tyrant. They suspected him of acting in concert with the Carthaginians, as they did not offer to pursue him; and none of his mercenaries had been killed in the attacks he made on the enemy's camp before Gela. The Italians therefore left his camp in a body, and marched homewards through the heart of the country. The Syracusan cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, clapped spurs to

Gela besieged by the Carthaginians.

The inhabitants abandon the city.

The Syracusans revolt from Dionysius.

*He possesses
himself of
the city.*

to their horses, and rode to Syracuse, where they entered the citadel without opposition, the guards being quite ignorant of what had happened at Gela and Camarina. Upon their arrival, they forced the tyrant's palace, ransacked his treasures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abused his wife so cruelly, that through grief and shame she poisoned herself. In the mean time Dionysius, suspecting their design, followed them with all possible expedition; and, having marched fifty miles without halting, arrived at midnight, with a hundred horse, and five hundred foot, at the gate of Acradina, which he found shut against him. He immediately caused the gate to be burnt down; and, having thus opened himself a way, cut in pieces a body of the most wealthy and noble citizens, who, without waiting for the people, had hastened to the defence of the gate. Being now master of the city, he scoured the streets, putting all to the sword that came in his way, and even entering the houses of such as he suspected to be his enemies, and cutting them off with their whole families. Next morning at break of day the whole body of his troops arrived; but the unhappy fugitives from Gela and Camarina, incensed against the tyrant, retired to Leontini.

*A peace be-
tween the
Carthagi-
nians and
Dionysius.*

In the mean time a plague broke out in the Carthaginian camp, and Amilcar, finding himself in no condition to carry on the war, sent a herald to Syracuse, to offer terms of pacification. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to Dionysius; and a peace was immediately concluded on the following terms: that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the countries of the Sicani, and the dismantled cities of Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera, with their territories; that the Geleans and Camarinians should be suffered to return to their respective countries, paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; that the Leontines, Messenians, and all the other inhabitants of Sicily, should live according to their own laws, and enjoy their liberties, except the Syracusans, who should continue subject to Dionysius. These articles being agreed to by both parties, Amilcar embarked his troops, and set sail for Carthage, after having lost above half of his army by the plague, which afterwards made a dreadful havock in Africa^c.

Dionysius, foreseeing that the Syracusans would not fail to take advantage of the peace with the Carthaginians to

^c Diod. Sicul. ibid.

attempt

attempt the recovery of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the island, which was very strong by nature, and divided it from the rest of the city with a high and thick wall, which was at due distances flanked with strong towers. He built likewise, at a vast expence, a castle, which commanded the city, to serve him for a retreat, in case of any sudden commotion. As to the lands, he chose the most fertile for himself and his friends: the rest he equally distributed among the citizens, including in that number the slaves, whom he made free, and called Neopolites, or *new citizens*. In the same manner he disposed of the houses, except those in the island, which he bestowed on his mercenaries, and such friends as he could trust ^d.

He fortifies the island.

Having taken these precautions for his own security, he began to think of extending his dominions, and subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had sided with the Carthaginians. He marched first against the city of Herbesius; but while he was employed in the siege of that place, the Syracusans, who had been enlisted for that expedition, seeing their swords restored, thought it their duty to employ them in the recovery of their liberty. One of the tyrant's officers, endeavouring to prevent their meetings, was killed on the spot; and his death served as a signal for the rest to take up arms, and join in the common cause. They sent immediately to Ætna for the horse; for they had retired thither, and possessed themselves of that castle, when Dionysius first usurped the sovereignty. Dionysius, alarmed at these commotions, raised the siege; and, hastening to Syracuse, made himself master of that city, before the news of the revolt in the army were known. The revolted, being joined by the cavalry from Ætna; closely pursued him, and, encamping on Epipolæ, cut off all communication with the country. They then dispatched messengers to Rhegium and Messana, soliciting their aid by sea for the recovery of their liberty. The messengers were kindly received in both places; and fourscore galleys well manned, sent with all possible expedition to support so good a cause. Being thus reinforced, they promised a great reward to any one that should kill the tyrant; and the freedom of the city to all foreigners, who should abandon him, and enlist under their banners. A great number of Dionysius's mercenaries, allured by these promises, forsook him, and were immediately made

The Syracusans revolt anew.

Dionysius besieged in the island.

And reduced to great straits.

Obtains leave to depart the city.

free of Syracuse; and, besides, rewarded with large sums; which so encouraged them, that, in a few days, the tyrant saw himself quite abandoned by those in whom he chiefly confided. And now the Syracusans, having prepared engines for battering down the wall, with repeated assaults so harassed those few that still adhered to the tyrant, that they were soon reduced to the utmost extremity. In this desperate condition Dionysius assembled his friends, to consult with them rather by what kind of death he should put an end to his career, than by what means he might save his life, or maintain the sovereignty. They were divided in their opinions. Heloris advised him to lay violent hands on himself, before he should be forced to resign the sovereign power; telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament of his sepulchre. Polyxenus would have had him attempt to break through the enemy's camp, on the swiftest horse he had; and, retiring to those places which were subject to the Carthaginians, implore the assistance of the Campanians, whom Amilcar had left to defend his conquests in Sicily. But Philistus the historian opposed this advice; telling Dionysius, that he ought not to fly from the crown, but hold it to the last gasp, with both his hands. Dionysius closed with this advice; and resolved to part with his life, rather than with the power he had acquired. However, to gain time, he sent deputies to the Syracusans, demanding permission to depart the city with his friends and adherents, which was granted; and five ships were allowed him to transport his men and effects. In the mean time he sent privately dispatches to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with great offers, if they would hasten to his relief.

The Syracusans, believing they had now subdued the tyrant, and trusting to the treaty, disarmed part of their troops, and suffered the others to disperse about the fields, as if there were nothing farther to be feared. In the mean time the Campanians, encouraged by Dionysius's promises, arrived unexpectedly at Syracuse; and, having killed all who opposed them, broke through into the port where he was shut up. At the same time three hundred mercenaries came to his assistance. The face of affairs was now entirely altered: Dionysius, taking advantage of the consternation and distraction that reigned in the enemy's camp, made a vigorous sally, and drove them to

* Idem, lib. xiv. cap. 3.

that

that part of the city called Neapolis. The slaughter was not great, Dionysius, to ingratiate himself with the Syracusans, having given orders to spare those that fled. With the same view he caused the dead to be buried; a mark of respect which had so good an effect on the minds of the simple populace, that above seven thousand of them joined him immediately. But the Syracusan cavalry could not by any offers be prevailed upon to espouse his cause. Seeing all lost, they retired again to their strong castle of Aetna, to wait for another opportunity of dethroning the tyrant. Dionysius sent frequent messages to them, exhorting them to lay aside their animosities, and return to their country; but the only answer they gave was, that they had rather live free in exile, than in their own country, subject to a tyrant. All the rest returned home, and again acknowledged Dionysius for their sovereign, who treated them for some time with great kindness and humanity. When all things were again quiet, he discharged the Campanians with great rewards, not daring to trust their fickle and inconstant humour. These arriving at the city Entella, prevailed with the citizens to receive them within their walls; which favour they requited by massacring in the night all the townsmen; then possessing themselves of the city, they married the wives of the deceased, and maintained themselves, for many years, in possession of the place.

Recovers the sovereign power.

The Campanians seize on the city of Entella.

Dionysius, being now convinced by experience, that he could not by any means trust the Syracusans, resolved to disarm them all; and because such a scheme, if executed with open violence, might occasion great commotions, he waited till most part of their inhabitants had left the city, and were employed in gathering in their harvest. He then searched every house, and seized on all the arms he could find. He afterwards inclosed the citadel with another wall; equipped a powerful fleet; hired a great number of foreign mercenaries; and took all possible measures to secure himself against the farther attempts of the Syracusans.

Dionysius disarms the Syracusans.

Having sufficiently provided for his safety at home, he began to extend his conquests abroad, not only with a view of enlarging his dominions, and encreasing his revenues, but in order to divert his subjects from the sense of the evils attending slavery, by employing them in military expeditions, which might allure them with the hopes of riches and plunder. Having therefore mustered his troops, he took the field; and, in the very first campaign, pos-

He subdues several free cities.

sessed

possessed himself of Naxos, Catana, Leontini, Ætna, Enna, and other cities. Some of them he treated with great clemency, to gain the esteem and affection of the people; others he plundered, and sold the inhabitants for slaves, to strike terror into the country.

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, that saw themselves threatened with the same fate. Rhegium, situate on the opposite coast of the streight which divides Sicily from Italy, taking umbrage at the great naval preparations carried on at Syracuse, entered into an alliance with Messina, on the Sicilian side of the streight. These allies, having raised a considerable army, sent a messenger to the Syracusans, acquainting them, that if they were desirous of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, they should be assisted with a numerous fleet, and a powerful army. The Syracusans readily promised to perform their part; but while the joint forces of Messina and Rhegium were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, disputes arising among the troops and officers of the two armies, the enterprize was dropped, and the mighty preparations for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

*Prepares to
make war
on the Car-
thaginians.*

Dionysius had concluded the late peace with no other view but to gain time to establish his authority: he, therefore, no sooner saw himself firmly seated on the throne, than he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war, designing nothing less than to drive the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily. His first care was to bring to Syracuse, from all parts of Sicily, Greece, and Italy, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in making all sorts of arms. Not only the porches of the temples, but the schools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay, even private houses, were filled with these artisans. The great salaries which Dionysius paid them, induced the best artificers, in every profession, to quit their own country, and repair to Syracuse. Such as distinguished themselves by their ingenuity or application, were sure to receive some particular marks of his favour. He even invited them to dine with him, and took pleasure in entertaining them with all the freedom and kindness of a friend. The artificers, thus encouraged, were indefatigable, striving to outvie each other; insomuch that in a short time a hundred and forty thousand complete suits of armour were finished. He then applied himself entirely to the equipment of a fleet, capable of disputing with the Carthaginians the sovereignty of

*Kills out a
fleet.*

of the sea. The timber for building his galleys he brought, at a great expence, from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for Syracuse. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a number of workmen, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready to put to sea: to these he added a hundred and ten old galleys, which he caused to be refitted. The fleet was manned with an equal number of citizens and foreigners. Syracuse, and the cities in its dependence, supplied him with great part of his land forces: many came from Italy and Greece, the great pay he offered inducing them to list in his service. Being sensible of what importance it is for a general to gain the affection of his troops, he exerted himself in a particular manner to oblige all, especially the Syracusans. With this view he entirely changed his behaviour for some time; kindness, civility, beneficence, and an insinuating condescension, took place of that imperious air, and inhumane temper, which had rendered him so odious.

Dionysius, seeing his great preparations now complete, and the army in a condition to take the field, assembled the Syracusans, and acquainted them with his design; which was, he said, to make war upon the most implacable enemy the Greeks had: he represented to them, in a pathetic speech, the many calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon Sicily; adding, that the plague, which had lately wasted Carthage, offered them a fair opportunity of being revenged for the inhuman cruelties those Africans had practised on their countrymen. The assembly readily concurred in his opinion; the ancient hatred they bore the Carthaginians, their rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. Upon the breaking up of the assembly, Dionysius granted leave to the people to seize on all the goods and estates of the Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties, had settled at Syracuse, and carried on a considerable trade^f.

War declared against the Carthaginians.

Dionysius, finding the Syracusans no less desirous of the war than himself, dispatched a herald to Carthage, with a letter to the senate and people, informing them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garrisons from all

^f Idem *ibid.* cap. 7.

the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse would treat them as enemies. This letter, being first read in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at Carthage, which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, they were not entirely dismayed, but sent officers into all parts, with considerable sums, to raise troops with the utmost diligence, and appointed Amilcar commander in chief of all their forces.

*Motya be-
sieged,*

Dionysius, on his side, lost no time; without waiting for the answer of the Carthaginians, he took the field, and his army was daily increased by the arrival of fresh troops, which, out of hatred to the Carthaginians, repaired to his standard from all parts: it amounted to eighty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long galleys, and five hundred transports, laden with warlike engines, and all sorts of provisions. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, where the Carthaginians kept their ammunition and stores. This city stood near Mount Eryx, in a small peninsula, about a mile from the shore, to which it was joined by a narrow neck of land; this the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. Dionysius, after having taken a view of the place with his engineers, commanded the canal between the city and the shore to be filled up with rubbish, and his galleys to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having issued these orders, he left his brother Leptines, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the siege, while he himself, with his land-forces, went to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians; these, terrified at the approach of so great an army, all submitted, except five; viz. Ancyra, Solas, Egesta, Panormus, and Entella. The two last he invested; but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to Motya, not doubting but that all other places would surrender as soon as they saw him master of this^s.

In the mean time Amilcar, who was busy in raising men, and making other preparations for the war in Sicily, ordered his admiral to set sail from Carthage with ten galleys; and, proceeding strait to Syracuse, to destroy all the vessels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this diversion was, to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige Dionysius to detach part of his fleet to the de-

^s Idem ibid.

fence of Syracuse. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, and, having sunk most of the ships he found there, failed back to Carthage without the loss of a single man.

Dionysius, on his return to Motya, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of stones and rubbish; so that he could make his approaches as on the dry land. He then brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers of six stories high, rolled upon wheels; and from thence galled the besieged with continual volleys of arrows and stones, discharged from his catapults, an engine, at that time, of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had opened several breaches in the walls, and entered the city sword in hand, the citizens still persisted in defending the narrow streets and passages with incredible valour; so that they were driven from street to street, till, being quite exhausted, and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut in pieces. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, those only excepted who took sanctuary in the temples. The city was given up to be plundered, Dionysius being glad to have such an opportunity of gaining the affection of the troops by the allurements of gain and booty. He rewarded one Archylus, who first mounted the wall, with a hundred minæ, and all the rest in proportion to their merit. Such of the Motyans as were left alive, he sold for slaves; but commanded Diemenes, and all the Greeks, who had joined the Carthaginians, to be crucified. Having thus reduced the strongest city in Sicily that was subject to Carthage, and placed a numerous garrison in it, under the command of Bito, a Syracusan, and ordered Leptines, with a hundred and twenty gallies, to watch the Carthaginians at sea; summer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to Syracuse.

In the mean time the Carthaginians, having certain intelligence of the strength of Dionysius, resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships: accordingly, making an extraordinary effort, they raised an army of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Their fleet, under the command of Mago, consisted of four hundred gallies, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. The troops being embarked, and the fleet ready to sail, Amilcar delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet,

and taken,

The city plundered, and the inhabitants treated with great cruelty.

Great preparations of the Carthaginians against Dionysius.

*Amilcar,
landing in
Sicily, takes
Eryx and
Motya.*

sealed up, enjoining them not to open them till they were out at sea. This precaution he took to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his designs. The orders were, that they should immediately proceed to Panormus, which was appointed the place of general rendezvous; and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. But the transports, having out-ailed the gallies, were attacked off the coast of Panormus by Leptines, who sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men, and two hundred chariots, were lost; the rest, tacking about, had the good fortune to escape. As soon as the gallies appeared, Leptines retired; and Amilcar, having landed his troops, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took Eryx by treachery, and, hastening from thence to *Motya*, reduced that important place before Dionysius, who was then besieging Egesta, could send any forces to its relief. The Syracusans, and their confederates, were for venturing a battle, but Dionysius thought it more advisable to retire to Syracuse, and abandon all the open country to the Carthaginians; who, flushed with their success, marched to Messana. Amilcar was desirous to possess himself of that city, on account of its situation; for, being once master of it, he knew he could easily intercept all succours sent to the enemy, either from Italy or Greece; and besides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which consisted of more than five hundred sail. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, alarmed at the great strength of the Carthaginians, and seeing themselves deserted by their confederates, were for submitting to the enemy; others were resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and cheerfully sacrifice their lives in the defence of their liberties. They were encouraged to this resolution by an ancient prophecy; importing, "That the Carthaginians should be, one day, carriers of water in that city." This they interpreted, that the Carthaginians should be slaves in Messana; and therefore, having sent away their wives and children, with all their treasure, to the neighbouring cities, they began to make the most vigorous preparations. But, in the mean time, the Carthaginian fleet having, by the favour of a strong gale, entered the harbour, and, with a great number of engines, battered down the walls on that side, the inhabitants, hastening in crowds to defend the breaches, left the other parts of the wall quite unguarded.

*Messana
taken by
the Car-
thaginians;*

unguarded. Amilcar took advantage of this confusion, and, attacking the city on the land-side, entered it without much opposition. All those who were on the ramparts died valiantly on the spot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or made their escape to the opposite shore of Italy. Amilcar, entering Messana with his whole army, and considering that it was too far distant from the other cities held by the Carthaginians, ordered his soldiers to raze it to the ground; and his orders were executed with such severity, that there was not one house left standing in the whole city; nay, our historian relates, that, after the departure of the Carthaginians, it was not easy to discover where Messana stood, even the rubbish being carried away and thrown into the sea. *and razed to the ground.*

The fame of these successes being spread all over the island, most of the inhabitants, who hated Dionysius in their hearts, and had only been reconciled to him in appearance, took this opportunity to quit his party and join the Carthaginians. Nevertheless he raised new forces, and giving the slaves their liberty, manned sixty galleys with them. His whole army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and his fleet to a hundred and eighty galleys. With these he took the field, and encamped about twenty miles from Syracuse. Amilcar, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him; his land-army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coast. When the Carthaginians arrived at Naxos, they could not continue their march any longer by the sea-side, but were obliged to take a long compass round Mount Ætna, which, by a violent eruption, had covered all the neighbouring country with burning ashes. Amilcar, therefore, ordered Mago to sail to Catana, and there wait till he, marching through the middle of the country, should rejoin him with the land forces. Dionysius, apprised of this disposition, hastened with all speed to Catana, with a design to attack Mago before Amilcar's army came up: he hoped that his land-forces, drawn up on the shore, would greatly encourage his own mariners, and dispirit the enemy's: besides, if his fleet were worsted, both ships and men had a place of safety to which they might retire.

Having, therefore, drawn up his land-forces on the shore, he sent out Leptines, with the whole fleet, against the enemy; commanding him to engage in close order, and not to break his line upon any account whatsoever. The Carthaginians, seeing the Greek troops drawn up on the shore, and the navy advancing in good order against them, *A fight at sea between Mago and Leptines.*

*Leptines
defeated.*

them, were struck with terror, and began to make to the shore, with a design to march over land in order to join Amilcar; but recollecting that this step was equally dangerous, they resolved to try their fortune by sea; and accordingly, drawing themselves up in a line, waited for the enemy. Leptines, inconsiderately advancing with thirty of his best galleys, contrary to the express command of Dionysius, sunk several of the enemy's ships, but was himself surrounded; and, after having fought for some hours hand to hand with the enemy, in the manner of a battle on land, was obliged to give way. The flight of the admiral disheartened the Syracusans, and gave the enemy fresh courage; the former fled to the shore where their land-forces were drawn up, but were closely pursued by the Carthaginians. Many, abandoning their ships, threw themselves into the sea, hoping to save their lives by swimming to the shore; but the Carthaginian transports, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of those unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any resistance. The army saw them perish, without being able to give them the least relief. In this engagement above a hundred of the Syracusan galleys were either sunk or taken, and more than twenty thousand of their men killed in the battle or pursuit.

*Dionysius
marches
back to
Syracuse.*

Upon this misfortune the land-forces, under the command of Dionysius, solicited their generals to lead them against Amilcar, alleging, that their unexpected arrival would strike terror into the enemy, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loss, while the enemy's troops were fatigued with their long and hasty march. This proposal pleased Dionysius at first; but, while he was preparing to march, some of his friends remonstrating to him, that Mago, in the mean time, with his victorious fleet, might possess himself of Syracuse, he altered his resolution, and hastened, with his whole army, to the defence of that metropolis. Many of the Sicilians, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues and hardships of a siege, deserted and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their respective homes^a.

*Syracuse
besieged.*

Amilcar, in two days march, arrived at Catana, where he halted some time to refresh his troops; and then, animated with the great success which had attended his arms, marched to Syracuse, with a design to besiege it; while his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along

^a Idem ibid.

the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for the subsistence of so numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmost consternation. Above two hundred gallies, adorned with the spoils of the enemy, entered the great haven of Syracuse in triumph, and were followed by a thousand transports; so that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain so great a navy. The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on the other side, consisting of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Amilcar took up his quarters in the temple of Jupiter, and the rest of the army encamped round it, about twelve furlongs from the city. Next morning the Carthaginian general, advancing with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, offered the inhabitants battle; but as they were not so imprudent as to accept the challenge, he returned to his camp, well satisfied at his having extorted from the Syracusans a tacit confession of their own weakness. At the same time he ordered a hundred gallies to enter the two other harbours, viz. the Little Port, and that of Trogilus, to strike greater terror into the Syracusans, and convince them, that the Carthaginians were likewise masters at sea. As he met with no opposition, he sent out parties for thirty days together to lay waste the country, cutting down groves, and destroying all before him. He took, by assault, the quarter of the town called Acradina, where he plundered the rich temples of Ceres and Proserpine. He considered the city as a sure prey, which could not possibly escape him; but, at the same time, foreseeing that the siege would be long and tedious, he surrounded his camp with a trench, and inclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished, for that purpose, all the tombs which stood round the city, and, amongst others, that of Gelon, and his wife Demarata, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the sea, at equal distances from each other; one at Plemmyrium; another about the middle of the port; and the third near the temple of Jupiter; laying up in these great stores of provision. He sent likewise transports to Sardinia and Africa, to bring from thence corn, and other necessaries.

In the mean time Polyxenus, whom Dionysius had dispatched into Italy, and Greece, with great sums of money to raise forces, arrived with a fleet of thirty ships, under the command of Pharacidas, the Lacedæmonian.

The Syracusans defeat the Carthaginians by sea.

This reinforcement came very seasonably, and in some degree raised the courage of the dispirited Syracusans, who, perceiving a large vessel laden with provisions for the enemy, ventured out with five galleys, and took it. As they were sailing away with their prize, the Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, against which they advanced with their whole fleet, and, engaging them, took the admiral galley, and twenty-four more, damaged others, and pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode at anchor, offering them battle a second time. The Carthaginians, discouraged by this unexpected blow, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them ¹.

Theodorus's speech to the assembly.

The Syracusans, animated by this success, which could only be ascribed to their own valour (for both Dionysius and Leptines were then absent), began to encourage each other to shake off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resume their ancient liberty. Meanwhile Dionysius, who had been employed with a small squadron to procure provisions, landed at the port; and, having convened an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans on their late victory, promising in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from their present calamities. When the assembly was ready to break up, one Theodorus, a Syracusan of great authority among the nobility, who had done eminent services to his country, stood up, and spoke to this effect: "Although Dionysius has advanced many falsehoods in his speech, yet what he said in the close of it, viz. that he would put a speedy end to the war, he may truly perform, if he himself, who has always been overcome, will resign the command, and restore us to our liberty; for none of us care to venture our lives in the field against a foreign enemy, while we know, that, notwithstanding our victory, we are to be treated like slaves, by a domestic tyrant. If the Carthaginians prevail, by paying an annual tribute we shall be allowed to enjoy our liberties; but if Dionysius should conquer, he will not fail to rob our temples, plunder our houses, seize our estates, take away our lives, and deprive us of all that is most dear to us. Let us, therefore, get rid of the tyrant within our walls, before we attempt to drive away a less dangerous enemy without. Shall we, who have lately engaged thousands, and put them to flight, be

¹ Idem *ibid.*

now afraid of one tyrant? We have arms in our hands, and against whom can we better employ them, than against one who has reduced us to such a deplorable condition, that we are pitied even by our enemies? If Dionysius consents to abdicate the throne, and retire, let us open our gates to him and his followers; but if he refuses to resign his usurped authority, let him know, by experience, how powerful is the love of liberty in the breasts of brave and valiant men."

When Theodorus had ended his speech, the Syracusans, not knowing what to resolve on, looked earnestly at their allies, especially at the Spartans there present; when Pharacidas, who commanded the Lacedæmonian fleet, rose up. Every one expected, that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty; but they were disappointed in their hopes; for he told them, that he had been sent by his republic to assist the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or subvert his authority. This unexpected answer put a stop to any farther attempts of the Syracusans; and the tyrant's mercenaries arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. However, Dionysius was under no small apprehension; and, from that time, began to ingratiate himself with the people, affecting, on all occasions, to treat them with great kindness and familiarity ^k.

The Lacedæmonian admiral declares for Dionysius.

But to return to the Carthaginians; their successes were not lasting. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, when the sight of a mighty fleet, and a formidable army, had occasioned an universal consternation in the city; and now a plague, breaking out in their camp, prevented them from making any attempts towards the reduction of the place. This infection was believed to be a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods, for plundering the temples, and demolishing the tombs round the city; but was, in effect, occasioned by the unwholesome exhalations of the fens and marshes adjoining to their camp; for the Athenians, who spared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the same calamity. The plague began among the Africans, and soon spread through the whole army. Care was taken at first to inter the dead; but their numbers increasing daily, they were left unburied; and this omission, as it was then the midst of summer,

A plague in the Carthaginian army.

^k Idem *ibid.*

and the heat that year excessive, greatly aggravated the evil. This infection was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, and acute pains in all parts of the body: some being seized with madness and fury, fell upon all those that came in their way, and tore them in pieces. The plague was so violent, that, in a short time, it swept away above a hundred thousand men, all remedies proving unsuccessful, on account of the incredible virulence of the distemper, and the rapidity of the progress.

*Dionysius
forces the
Carthagi-
nian camp,
and burns
their fleet.*

Dionysius resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy. Having, therefore, manned eighty galleys, he ordered Pharacidas and Lep- tines to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view, having commanded his troops to be ready by midnight, he marched at the head of ten thousand chosen men, at the time appointed; and, without being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp. He then detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to attempt that part of the camp which lay at the greatest distance, pretending that the enemy there kept no guard; but his real design was to sacrifice that body of mercenaries, who had, in the late disturbances, seemed to favour the faction which opposed his interest. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse, to retire as soon as the infantry should be engaged; his orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off to a man. Upon the return of the cavalry, Dionysius at the same time attacked the camp, and the forts which the enemy had built near the shore. Two of the forts were taken at the first assault, which gave the Syracusans an opportunity of entering the great haven, with all their fleet, and falling furiously on the enemy's galleys. The Carthaginians, in the camp, made at first a vigorous resistance; but seeing the two forts, which defended the harbour, possessed by the enemy, and their navy in imminent danger of being utterly destroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the shore to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. Thus ensued a great confusion in the army, which Dionysius taking advantage of, broke into the camp, and made a dreadful havock, putting all to the sword who opposed him. The surprize, terror, and even haste they were in to put themselves in a posture of defence, threw them

them into still greater confusion. They knew not on what side to send relief, all being equally in danger. Numbers of their vessels were sunk, others quite disabled, and a great many burnt and taken. The inhabitants of Syracuse, in crowds on the walls and eminencies, were eye-witnesses of that scene of horror; and, lifting up their hands to heaven, thanked the tutelary gods of the city for revenging, in so signal a manner, the many sacrileges which the Carthaginians had committed since their arrival in Sicily. The slaughter in the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only when night obliged the conquerors to retire. Dionysius encamped at the temple of Jupiter, near the enemy, with a design to renew the fight early next morning; but Amilcar, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent ambassadors privately to Dionysius, offering him three hundred talents, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to withdraw unmolested. Dionysius was unwilling to destroy the Carthaginians entirely, lest the Syracusans, when free from the apprehension of so formidable an enemy, should seek to regain their ancient liberty; but, on the other side, he knew, that neither the Syracusans nor their confederates would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms. He therefore answered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow Amilcar, with all the citizens of Carthage, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents. This condition being agreed on, Dionysius retired with his forces into the city, whither Amilcar privately sent him the promised sum, and then began to make the necessary preparations for his departure. The Carthaginians were put on board forty galleys, and ready to set sail, when the Corinthians, who served under Dionysius, discovering, from the noise and motion of the vessels, that Amilcar was retreating, sent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some galleys to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat; but, as his orders were but slowly executed, the Corinthians, without his command, pursued them, and sunk several vessels in the rear. Dionysius then marched out with his troops against those, whom Amilcar had left behind to the mercy of the conqueror; but, before his arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their respective countries; the rest, seeing themselves abandoned by the Sicilians, and betrayed by the Carthaginians, at the approach of Dionysius's army, be-

took

*Dionysius
grants the
Carthagi-
nians leave
to retire.*

took themselves to flight; but being closely pursued, were either killed, or taken prisoners. Only the Iberians kept together in a body, and sent a herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who took them into his service. Such was the fate of the Carthaginians in Sicily.

*Amilcar
lays violent hands
on himself.*

Amilcar, upon his arrival at Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, went directly to his own house; and, shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, laid violent hands on himself, to shew that he did not survive his countrymen, who perished in Sicily, out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops, which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which his more early death would have exposed them. When it was publicly known in Africa, that Amilcar had saved only the citizens of Carthage, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and states, which had sent them auxiliaries, were incensed to such a degree, that, taking up arms, they marched directly to Carthage, to the number of two hundred thousand men. But, as they wanted a leader of experience, and had neither warlike engines nor provisions to support so numerous an army, they soon dispersed, and, retiring to their respective countries, freed Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

*Messana
rebuilt.*

The Carthaginians being thus entirely defeated in Sicily, all those who had abandoned their country through dread of so formidable an enemy, returned to their ancient habitations. Dionysius caused the city of Messana to be rebuilt, and peopled it with a thousand Locrians, and four thousand Medymneans. This measure gave no small jealousy to the inhabitants of Rhegium in Italy; who, protecting all those that were driven out by Dionysius, or hated his government, formed a considerable army, which they sent, under the conduct of Heloris, to besiege Messana. But Dionysius, unexpectedly falling upon them, cut most of the Rhegian forces in pieces, obliging the rest to retire to their vessels, and abandon the island. He had scarce obtained this victory over the Rhegians, when Mago, the Carthaginian, whom Amilcar had left to settle the affairs of Carthage in Sicily, appeared before Messana, at the head of a numerous army; but was attended with no better success, being, in a pitched battle, totally defeated, with the loss of above five eight hundred men. Dionysius, animated by these two victories, resolved to make an attempt upon Rhegium. Having manned a hundred galleys, he arrived unperceived before the city, set fire

*The Rhe-
gians de-
feated by
Dionysius;*

*and Mago,
the Car-
thaginian.*

fire to the gates, and, in the confusion which his arrival occasioned, was very near carrying the place by storm, the inhabitants being more anxious to extinguish the fire than to repulse the enemy. But Heloris, perceiving the danger the city was in, ordered the inhabitants to cease from quenching the flames, and hasten to the walls; by which means the place was saved. Some of Dionysius's men had already, by the help of their scaling-ladders, got into the city; but, the rest being timely prevented from following them, they were either put to the sword, or made prisoners. Dionysius, being thus disappointed in his design, laid waste the territory of Rhegium, and then retired to Syracuse.

*Dionysius
repulsed at
Rhegium.*

The Carthaginians, however disheartened by their late losses, yet could not forbear making new attempts upon Sicily. They sent Mago eighty thousand men, enjoining him to make war upon Dionysius, and promising quickly to send him new supplies of men, money, and ships. But Mago, being soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions, sent ambassadors to Dionysius to treat of a peace, which was concluded before either side had lost one man. By this treaty Taurominium, a Carthaginian colony, was given up to Dionysius; who, driving from thence the ancient proprietors, placed the most useful of his mercenaries in their room. Mago, as soon as the treaty was signed, returned to Carthage, leaving his allies in Sicily to shift for themselves.

*Mago con-
cludes a
peace with
Dionysius.*

Dionysius, being now under no apprehension of the Carthaginians, turned all his thoughts on the reduction of Rhegium, which was the key of Italy, with a design to bring under his power all the Greek cities in that country. He had then under his command an army of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, besides a hundred and twenty galleys well manned and equipped. With these he passed over into Italy; and, having laid waste the country of the Locrians, advanced to Rhegium. But, in the mean time, the Italians, being apprised of his designs, raised forces in all their cities; and, having fitted out a fleet of sixty galleys, sent them to the relief of Rhegium. They were met by a squadron of Dionysius's fleet, consisting of fifty galleys; and an engagement ensued, in which Dionysius lost seven galleys, and fifteen hundred men. The fleets were parted by a violent storm, which driving many of the Syracusan vessels upon the Rhegian shore, the mariners were either cut in pieces by the inhabitants,

*Dionysius
attacks
Rhegium.*

*His fleet
defeated,
himself
narrowly
escaping.*

tants, or taken prisoners, Dionysius himself having narrowly escaped in a small vessel, and with much difficulty landed at midnight at the port of Messina.

*Stirs up the
Lucanians
against the
Greeks in
Italy.*

This disappointment did not induce Dionysius to lay aside his designs upon the Greek cities in Italy; he reinforced his army with new levies; equipped a greater number of ships, and made great preparations both by sea and land, in order to renew the war. In the mean time he entered into an alliance with the Lucanians, engaging them, with great promises, to insult the Greek cities in Italy, hoping to find them thereby on his return so weakened, that he might easily accomplish his design. The Lucanians, agreeable to their engagement, entering the country of the Thurians, ravaged it with fire and sword; and, having given battle to the confederate Greeks, killed above ten thousand of them on the spot. Those who escaped the slaughter fled to a hill near the sea-side, whence they discovered a squadron of ships making to the Italian shore; and, hoping that they were sent from Rhegium to their assistance, from eagerness to save themselves from the Lucanians, who pursued them, leaped into the sea, and swam to the ships. But these vessels proved to be a squadron sent by Dionysius to the assistance of the Lucanians, under the command of his brother Leptines. However, that commander not only received them generously into his ships, but prevailed upon the Lucanians to accept for each man, they being a thousand in all, a mina, and suffer them to return unmolested into their own country. This sum, which was very considerable, Leptines himself disbursed, by his own generosity, and natural inclination to pity even an enemy in distress. Such generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the Greeks, but highly displeased Dionysius, who immediately dismissed him, and appointed Thearides, his other brother, admiral in his room¹.

*Dionysius
passes a-
gain into
Italy.*

Dionysius, having made the necessary preparations for his expedition into Italy, set sail from Syracuse with an army of above twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and a fleet of forty long gallies, and three hundred transports, loaded with provisions, and all sorts of warlike engines. The fifth day after his departure from Syracuse, he arrived at Messina, whence he sent his brother Thearides to the Lipara islands, having received advice that ten

¹ Diod. Sic. *ibid.* cap. 12.

ships of Rhegium were anchored there. Thearides found the ships, and returned, with them and their crews, to Dionysius, who delivered the prisoners, loaded with chains, to the care and custody of the magistrates of Messana, and then set sail for Italy. The first place he attacked was Caulonia, or Caulum, a strong city in Locris, which, though battered night and day without intermission, held out till the Italians, having raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, advanced, in order to relieve the place. These were commanded by Heloris, a native of Syracuse, whence he had been banished by Dionysius, and therefore bore him an implacable hatred. Heloris, as he approached the besieged city, moved with a detachment of five hundred chosen men to observe the ground on which the enemy was encamped. Then Dionysius, raising the siege, marched with all speed against him; and, arriving by break of day at the place where Heloris was encamped with his small body, fell upon him with his whole army. Heloris maintained his ground, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of an army so much superior in number, till the rest of his forces came up. But as they arrived by parties, every one making what haste he could to relieve their general, they were, after a long and obstinate dispute, put to flight. Heloris and his party still kept their posts, and were all killed on the spot. Those who escaped fled to a neighbouring mountain, and there made a stand. But as they wanted water, and were hemmed in on all sides by the enemy, they sent a herald to Dionysius, offering to lay down their arms, provided he would allow them to retire unmolested; but he insisting upon their surrendering at discretion, they held out till they were ready to perish with hunger and thirst, and then complied with his proposal. They were above ten thousand, and expected no quarter from so cruel an enemy. But Dionysius, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great humanity, discharging them all without ransom, and suffering them to live in their respective countries according to their own laws. This, as our historian observes, was the only commendable action he ever performed in the whole course of his life. The captives, on their return to their respective cities, greatly extolled his clemency and goodness; and acknowledged his kindness to them by presenting him with crowns of gold^m.

*Lays siege
to Caulonia.*

*Defeats the
Italians
attempting
to relieve
it.*

*His generosity
to the
captives.*

^m Idem ibid.

*Rhegium
besieged.*

*The Rhe-
gians com-
ply with
the condi-
tions of-
fered by
Dionysius.*

Dionysius having, by this generous action, acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country; and, from enemies, converted them into friends and allies, turned his arms again upon the city of Rhegium. He was highly incensed against the Rhegians, on account of their having refused to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, and much more for the insolent answer with which their refusal was attended (B). The besieged, finding themselves abandoned by their allies, whom Dionysius had gained by his late kindness, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by storm, sent ambassadors to treat of a surrender. Dionysius offered them peace, upon condition that they paid him three hundred talents, delivered up all their vessels, which were seventy in number, and put a hundred hostages into his hands. These terms the inhabitants agreed to, and the siege was raised. It was not from a motive of goodness he acted in this manner, but with a view to deprive them of their fleet, knowing that it would be impossible for the Rhegians to hold out, if they received no assistance by sea. He therefore put off from day to day his march, waiting for some colourable pretence to break the treaty he had lately concluded with the Rhegians. With this view, having drawn all his forces together, as if he intended to leave Italy, he desired the Rhegians to supply his army with provisions, promising to defray the charges they should be at, as soon as he reached Syracuse. His design in this proposal was, that, if they refused to supply him, he might have a pretence to attack their city again; and, if they complied with his demand,

(B) Dionysius, in the beginning of his reign, did all that lay in his power to oblige the two powerful cities of Rhegium and Messana, lest they should enter into an alliance with the Syracusans, among whom his authority was not then well established. The inhabitants of Messana he presented with some lands in their neighbourhood, which lay very conveniently for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambaf-

sadors to desire them to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors, the people of Rhegium, having called a council to deliberate upon his demand, took a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and, for their final answer, charged the ambassadors to acquaint him, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. This gross insult Dionysius never forgave, but continually studied how to revenge it.

after

after their provisions were exhausted, he might easily possess himself of the place. The Rhegians, not suspecting his design, supplied him for some days very plentifully. But, as he put off his departure from day to day, sometimes pretending sickness, at other times alleging other frivolous excuses, they at length saw into his real design, and forbore sending him any farther provisions. Dionysius pretending to be highly affronted at this neglect, sent back their hostages, and besieged them again with all his forces. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge stimulated one side, and the fear of inhuman cruelties animated the other. The Rhegians were under the command of Phyto, an officer of great experience, and extraordinary valour. He made frequent sallies, in one of which Dionysius, while he was encouraging his troops, was so dangerously wounded, that his life was despaired of. However, he recovered, and renewed the siege with more fury than ever, the walls trembling all round the city at the repeated shocks of innumerable warlike engines, as if they had been shaken by a dreadful earthquake. But, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the besiegers, the siege went on very slowly, their works being often demolished, and their engines burnt, by the besieged, who in every sally gained very considerable advantages. They held out for the space of eleven months against the whole force of Dionysius; but were at length, for want of provisions, reduced to the utmost extremity. A bushel of wheat was sold for five minæ, that is, 15l. 12s. 6d. and the famine was so great, that, after they had consumed all their horses and beasts of burden, they supported themselves with boiled skins and leather; which also failing, they daily went out of the town to feed, like brutes, on the grass that grew under the walls. But Dionysius, to deprive them even of this poor support, sent his horses under a strong guard to graze where the Rhegians used to feed. The besieged, thus overcome by famine, were at length forced to surrender at discretion. Dionysius himself, when he entered the city, was struck with terror, finding every where heaps of dead bodies lying in the streets, and those who survived rather skeletons than men. However, he collected about six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse, where such as were not able to redeem themselves with a mina, were sold for slaves. Dionysius vented his rage and revenge chiefly on the brave Phyto, who had made so gallant a defence; he caused his son to be thrown headlong into the sea, where

Who nevertheless renews hostilities.

Dionysius dangerously wounded.

The besieged reduced to great straits.

Rhegium taken.

*Dionysius's
cruelty to
Phyto.*

he perished. Next day he ordered Phyto to be loaded with chains, and fastened to the top of one of his highest engines, that he might be exposed to the view of the whole army. In that condition he sent one of his guards to tell him, that his son had been drowned the day before; "Then the son (replied Phyto), is by one day happier than the father." He afterwards caused him to be scourged through the city, and undergo innumerable other cruelties, whilst a crier, walking before him, proclaimed, that "The perfidious traitor was treated in that manner for having stirred up the people of Rhegium to war." But Phyto, with an undaunted courage, cried aloud, "That he thus suffered, because he would not betray his country to a tyrant." His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he suffered, raised compassion even in the breasts of the tyrant's soldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have rescued him, had not Dionysius immediately ordered him to be thrown into the sea. Thus died a man, whose probity, courage, and disinterested zeal for the good of his country, deserved a more glorious end. His death was lamented by all the Greeks, and became the subject of many elegant and affecting elegies^a.

*Dionysius
addicted
to poetry.*

Dionysius, after the reduction of Rhegium, allowed both himself and his troops some respite. In the intervals of leisure he unbent his mind with the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially of poetry, piquing himself upon the extent of his genius, and the elegance of his performances. As he excelled all others in power, so, in his own opinion, he surpassed them in wit and humour; and was more pleased to hear his poetical compositions commended, than his victories and conquests. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, greatly contributed to the high opinion he had of himself; extolling his poems, and preferring them to the works of all who had written before his time. He often used to invite the learned men, and poets of that age, to dine at his table; and, on those occasions, never failed to entertain them with some new composition of his own, which always met with great approbation; all was great, noble, majestic, and divine. Philoxenus was the only person who attempted to undecieve him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities; but narrowly escaped paying dear for his sincerity. As Philoxenus was himself an excellent poet, Dionysius one day, after having read to him some of his

*Philoxenus
sent to the
quarries
for censur-
ing his
poetry.*

^a Idem ibid.

verses, pressed him to give his opinion of them; which was far from being favourable. Dionysius, ascribing the liberty he had taken to envy, commanded his guards to carry the poet forthwith to the quarries, or common gaol; however, he was next day, at the earnest entreaties of all Dionysius's friends, set at liberty, and restored to favour. On this occasion Dionysius, as it were, to ratify the pardon, made a noble entertainment, inviting all his own and the poet's friends. When the guests began to be merry, the prince did not fail to recite some verses he had lately made, selecting some lines, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and looked upon as master-strokes; as was apparent from the self-satisfaction he expressed in rehearsing them. As he set a great value on Philoxenus's approbation, who was not apt to be lavish of his praises, he desired him again to divest himself of all envy, and speak his real sentiments. What had passed the day before, might have served as a lesson to the poet: but he could not dissemble; and therefore, without making any answer to Dionysius, he turned to the guards, who always stood round the table, and, with a serious, but humorous air, desired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleasantry Dionysius took in good part; saying, that the wit of the poet had atoned for his freedom. Antiphon, finding that Dionysius was pleased with witty expressions, told him several truths in a very humorous manner, at which he took no offence. The prince, in a conversation, asked, which was the best kind of brass; to which question Antiphon answered, that the best brass was that of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. These were two famous patriots, who had defended the liberty of their country against the tyranny of Pisistratus's sons *.

His pleasantry taken in good part by Dionysius.

Dionysius, notwithstanding all Philoxenus had said to undeceive him, still thought himself the best poet of his age; and sent his brother Thearides to the Olympic games, to dispute, in his name, the prizes of poetry, and the chariot-races. When Thearides arrived at Olympia, the richness and number of his chariots, the extraordinary magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous apparel of his numerous attendants, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. Their ears were no less charmed at first, when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen

Disputes the prize of poetry at the Olympic games.

* Idem ibid. Plut. Moral.

*His poetry
how re-
ceived
there.*

*Dionysius
falls into a
deep me-
lancholy.*

*Banishes
Leptines
and Philis-
tus.*

for that purpose, persons of sweet and harmonious voices, who were heard far and distinctly, and knew how to give a just emphasis to the verses they recited. But when that numerous assembly began no longer to consider the delivery, but the sense and composition, they all burst out in a loud laugh, and hissed them off the stage; and even, to express their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. Lysias, the celebrated orator, who was then at Olympia, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, as well as the sacred nature of the sports, to admit such an impious tyrant to share in those diversions. This speech was styled "The Olympic oration." When the races began, Dionysius's chariots were either by an headlong impetuosity driven out of the boundaries, or dashed in pieces against one another. Nor did the vessel, which carried Thearides and his retinue, meet with a better fate; being, by a violent storm, driven on the coast of Tarentum, whence, with great difficulty, they reached Syracuse. Upon their return, they ascribed all the misfortunes they had met with, both by sea and land, to the badness of Dionysius's verses. But that miscarriage did not cure him of his folly, or, as the historian styles it, of his madness for versification; he still entertained the same opinion of his poetical vein, ascribing such injurious treatment to envy, and saying, that they would one day admire what they then despised. He sent his poems a second time to Olympia, where they were treated with the same contempt as before; which threw him into a deep melancholy, and a kind of madness. This grew daily upon him; till at length he fancied, that even his best friends were plotting against his life and reputation. In this apprehension he exclaimed, that every one envied him, and that both his friends and foes conspired his ruin. In these fits of melancholy and madness he put many of his friends to death, and banished others; among the latter, were Leptines his brother, and Philistus, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy; whence they were soon recalled, and reinstated in their former places of power and authority.

To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, he again had recourse to arms, and formed a design of driving the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily. But as he wanted money for so expensive an undertaking, he

¶ *Idem ibid.*

resolved

resolved to attack Epirus, and make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphi. With this view, he settled powerful colonies in that part of Italy which faces Greece; and made an alliance with the Illyrians, sending them two thousand men, and a great quantity of arms, to be employed against the Molossians, with whom they were then at war. But the Illyrians afterwards disagreeing with Dionysius, on account of his building the city of Lyffus in the island of Pharos, he laid aside, for the present, all thoughts of plundering the temple of Delphi, and pursued another project of the same kind, which he easily accomplished.

Forms a design of plundering the temple of Delphi.

Having fitted out threescore gallies under colour of clearing the seas of pirates, he made a descent in Hetruria, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla; carrying away, besides the moveables and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raised by the sale of the spoils; and, with this money, levied a numerous army, and made other preparations, as if he intended to attempt again the reduction of the Greek cities in Italy. But the Carthaginians, suspecting his real design, upon the first notice they had of these extraordinary preparations, sent Mago into Sicily with a powerful army. Dionysius attacked him soon after he landed, killed him with ten thousand of his men, took five thousand prisoners, and forced the rest to save themselves on a neighbouring hill, where he surrounded them on all sides, so that they were forced to sue for peace. Dionysius answered the ambassadors whom they sent to treat with him, that there was only one way left for them to make peace; and that was, forthwith to evacuate Sicily, and to defray all the expences of the war. The Carthaginians pretended to accept peace on these terms; but representing, that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in Sicily, without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, till the return of an express sent to Carthage.

Plunders the temple of Agylla in Hetruria.

Dionysius makes war on the Carthaginians, and defeats them.

During this interval, they buried Mago with great pomp and magnificence, and appointed his son to command his troops in his room. This new general, who was very young, but had on all occasions given proofs of extraordinary valour and prudence, during the truce raised and disciplined new troops; and improved so well the short time allowed him, that at the return of the express from Carthage he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above fourteen thousand Syracusans on the spot,

Dionysius routed.

Peace concluded.

and among the rest Leptines, Dionysius's brother, who was greatly regretted, even by those who hated the tyrant. He was a brave and experienced officer; and, though ever faithful to Dionysius, yet an enemy to all manner of oppression. Dionysius, with the remains of his shattered army, fled to Syracuse, where he expected to be soon besieged by the victorious enemy. But the Carthaginian general used his victory with great moderation; and, instead of pursuing the routed enemy, retired to Panormus, whence he sent ambassadors to Dionysius, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions: that both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war; save only, that Dionysius should deliver up to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Scelinus, and part of the territory of Agrigentum; and, besides, pay a thousand talents to defray the expences of the war¹.

Dionysius victor in poetry at Athens.

A victory of a very different kind made amends, or at least lessened his concern, for the ill success of his arms: he had caused a tragedy, written by himself, to be acted at Athens for the prize of poetry, at the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was proclaimed victor. As the Athenians were the best judges of this kind of literature, and no way biassed in favour of Dionysius, who had, on all occasions, assisted the Lacedæmonians, we cannot help thinking, that the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympic games was chiefly owing to the hatred and aversion which the spectators bore him. But however that be, Dionysius received the news of his victory with such transports of joy, as are not to be expressed; he amply rewarded the person who brought him the agreeable tidings; caused costly sacrifices to be offered to the gods; and, believing himself arrived at the highest pitch of glory, set no bounds to his generosity: he entertained the whole city with extraordinary magnificence, and spent an immense treasure in public feasts and banquets, which lasted several days. On this occasion, Dionysius, drinking to excess, and overcharging nature, a fault which he had never before been guilty of, was seized with violent pains, which were attended with uneasy and restless nights. Having, therefore, asked of his physicians a soporiferous draught, they gave him so strong a dose, as quite stupified his senses, and laid him in a sleep, out of which he never awaked.

His joy on that occasion.

Dionysius's death.

¹ Idem, lib. xv. cap. 2.

He had been formerly forewarned by an oracle, that he should die when he had overcome those who were better than himself. This prediction he applied to the Carthaginians, who were more powerful than himself; and, therefore, would never own, that he had gained any victory over them; but used to say, that the advantage, all things well considered, was pretty equal on both sides. However, he could not avoid his destiny, says the historian; for, though he was but a bad poet, yet, in the opinion of the Athenians, he gained the victory over those who far excelled him in that art¹. He died after he had reigned thirty-eight years.

Dionysius was, without all doubt, a prince of extraordinary abilities, both in his political and military capacity, having raised himself, in opposition to the utmost efforts of a powerful people, from a mean condition to so high a station, and transmitted the sovereignty to a successor of his own issue and election, who, notwithstanding the slenderness of his parts, held it for the space of twelve years. This circumstance shews that Dionysius had established his power and authority upon a solid foundation; which could not be effected in a city so fond of liberty, without great prudence and foresight. But what abilities could atone for the vices which rendered him the object of public hatred? His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice spared not the most sacred persons or places; and his cruelty, when awakened by jealousy or suspicion, made no distinction between friend or foe. He despised not only his fellow-creatures, but the gods themselves, glorying in his open and professed impiety; whereof the ancients relate the following instances. On his return from Locris, where he had plundered the temple of Proserpine, the wind being favourable, he turned to his friends, and, with a contemptuous smile, "See, said he, how the immortal gods favour the sacrilegious²." Being in great want of money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter; and, amongst other things, stripped the god of a robe of gold, which Hiero had presented him with, out of the spoils of the Carthaginians, saying, that a robe of gold was too heavy in summer and too cold in winter; and, at the same time, ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders, adding, that such a habit would be far more proper for all seasons. He

His character.

His impiety.

¹ Idem ibid. cap. 8.

² Plut. in Dion.

ordered the golden beard of *Æsculapius* to be taken off, saying, it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard, when the father had none; for *Apollo* is always represented as a beardless young man[†]. Several of the statues of the gods held cups and crowns of gold in their hands, which he made no scruple to carry off, saying, that the gods offered them to him; and that it was very simple to be continually importuning the gods for good things, and then refuse those gifts which themselves presented to their votaries. The spoils were, by his orders, carried to the market-place, and sold by auction. But the very next day, pretending to be sorry for having plundered the temples, he caused a proclamation to be issued, commanding all those who had any thing in their custody belonging to the immortal gods, to restore it to the temple within a limited time; but he never thought of returning the money to the buyers.

His suspicious temper.

The amazing precautions which he made use of to secure his life, shew both his suspicious temper, and the inquietude to which he was abandoned. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower. Not daring to trust his friends and nearest relations, he committed the guard of his person to slaves and foreigners; and, though surrounded with these, scarce ever ventured out of his palace[‡]. A jest that escaped his barber, who boasted, in a merry humour, that he often held a razor to the king's throat, being related to *Dionysius*, cost the man his life; and from that time he employed his daughters in that mean office. When they were grown up, he did not care to trust them with razors or scissars, but only allowed them nut-shells; and at last was reduced, by his apprehensions, to do that office for himself. He never went into the apartments of his wives before they were searched with the utmost care, lest any weapons should there lie concealed. His bed-chamber was surrounded with a deep and broad trench, and a draw-bridge over it. After having fastened the doors of his apartment with strong bolts, he drew up the bridge, and then took some rest, which was interrupted by the least noise he heard, either in the streets or his palace. Neither his son nor his brother were admitted to his presence, without being searched by the guards, and obliged to change their garments[§]. Thus, at the height of his grandeur, he led a more miserable life

[†] Cic. de Natur. Deor. lib. v.

[‡] Cic. Off. lib. ii. Plut. in Dion.

[§] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v.

than

than the meanest of his slaves, as he himself ingenuously owned (C).

Dionysius, though an ambitious and inhuman tyrant, *His good qualities.* had, at the same time, some good qualities, which ought not to be concealed or misrepresented. The kindness and respect which he manifested for his two wives, the mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion (D), the commendations he bestowed on his own

(C) As one of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually repeating, that never man was happier than Dionysius, and extolling the magnificence of his palaces, the extent of his dominions, the number of his troops, the richness of his treasures, &c. Dionysius asked him, whether he would, for a short time, have a taste of his happiness. Damocles accepted the offer with joy; and, being invited to dinner by Dionysius, he was accordingly placed on a bed of gold, covered with carpets of an inestimable value: the table was spread with dainties of all sorts; and the most beautiful slaves, in pompous habits, ordered to wait on Damocles, and watch the least signal to serve him. The courtier was transported with joy, and said, that if he could always live in that manner, he should look upon himself as the happiest of mortals. He had scarce spoken when, accidentally casting up his eyes, he beheld, over his head, a naked sword, hanging from the ceiling by a single horse-hair. At this sight he was immediately taken with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant, except

the sword; he could think of nothing else; and the danger he was threatened with, throwing him into dreadful agonies, he desired permission to retire, declaring he would be happy no longer. A lively representation of the unhappy life which a tyrant must lead when hated by his subjects (1).

(C) Dionysius ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the laughing-stock of Sicily, that being the import of the Greek word γέλως; all the courtiers highly applauded the wit of that conceit, or rather pun, flat and insipid as it was. But Dion took it in a different manner, and had courage to tell Dionysius, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince whose wife and equitable conduct had exhibited an excellent form of government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of monarchy. "You reign, said he, and have been trusted, for Gelon's sake; but, on your account, no man will ever be trusted after you." This reprehension Dionysius took in good part, without shewing the least resentment (2).

(1) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. Plut. in Dion.

(2) Diod. Sicul. ubi supra, &

sister Thesta, for the bold and generous answer she made him on account of her husband's flight, his obliging and insinuating behaviour towards the Syracusans, on several occasions, and the familiarity with which he condescended to converse with the meanest citizens, and even workmen, convince us, that he had more equity, moderation, and generosity, than is generally ascribed to him by historians. In short, he was a tyrant, but not so inhuman as many who have reigned since his time.

*Dionysius
the Young-
er.*

Yr. of Fl.
1982.
Ante Chr.
366.

*His cha-
racter.*

Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris, the Locran, and four by Aristomache, the sister of Dion, whom we shall often have occasion to mention in the following reign. When no hopes were left of Dionysius's life, Dion took upon him to speak in favour of his children by Aristomache, insinuating, that it was just to prefer the issue of a Syracusan to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous to make their court to young Dionysius, the son of Doris, who had been brought up for the throne, did not give the father time to alter his resolution, dispatching him in the manner we have related above; so that Dionysius, surnamed the Younger, peaceably ascended the throne. After he had performed his father's funeral with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and promised to pursue, with regard to his subjects, quite different measures from those which had been practised in the preceding reign. The gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius, made the Syracusans believe, that they should live happy under his government; whereas, they were well apprised, that if they attempted a change, the consequences of a civil war would involve the state in endless calamities. On these considerations, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, they suffered him to take quiet possession of the throne as a lawful inheritance. He was of a quite different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprising; yet this mildness and moderation was not the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, but of a certain habitual sloth and indolence. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averse to all violence and cruelty; had a taste for arts and sciences, and took great delight in conversing with men of learning. Whence it is plain, that he would have proved a good prince had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, stifled in him every noble and elevated

vated sentiment, by a mean and obscure education. He no sooner ascended the throne, than Dion, who was well acquainted with his temper, and good disposition, undertook to correct the faults of his low education, and inspire him with thoughts suitable to the high station he was placed in. Dion was the son of Hipparinus, the most illustrious citizen of Syracuse, and brother of Aristomache, the wife of Dionysius the Elder. In his early years he contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with Plato (E), who, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him, that he had never met with a young man on whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had embraced his principles with so much ardour. Diodorus speaks of him as one of the greatest men that Sicily, or any other country ever produced. And, indeed, it is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person, as those that centered in Dion. But, to return to Dionysius. In the very beginning of his reign, as he had been kept under great restraint by his father, he abandoned himself to all manner of diversions and shameful pleasures. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he made an entertainment, or rather a debauch, which continued three months together, during all which time his palace was crowded with debauchees, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, and masquerades. As Dion believed that this was the effect of a bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he rightly conceived, that the best remedy would be to introduce to him persons of good sense, virtue, and learning, whose agreeable conversation might, at once, instruct and divert him; for the young prince was endowed with good natural parts, and took delight in conversing with philosophers. With this view Dion often talked of Plato as the most profound of all the philosophers, whose merit he was well acquaint-

Dion's excellent qualities.

Dionysius abandons himself to debauchery.

(E) He was first acquainted with Plato at the court of Dionysius the Elder, who invited him into Sicily, and for some time professed a great kindness for him. But, at length, taking offence at his freedom, he ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there sold as a slave, for five minæ. But some philosophers of the same sect redeemed him, and sent him back to Greece with this friendly advice; that philosophers should very seldom converse with tyrants; and, when they did, they should be of a winning behaviour (3).

*Dionysius
sends for
Plato.*

ed with, and to whom he himself was indebted for all he knew. He enlarged on the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him as the man the most capable to instruct him in the arts of governing, upon which his own happiness, and that of his subjects, depended. These discourses inflamed the young prince with a desire of seeing that celebrated philosopher, and improving by his conversation. He wrote to him in the most obliging manner, inviting him to his court, and dispatched express after express to hasten his journey; but Plato, recollecting the treatment he had received at his father's court, could not prevail upon himself to comply with his invitation. *All the Pythagorean philosophers of Sicily and Italy joined their intreaties with those of the prince; and Dion, with repeated letters, never ceased to importune him, till, at length, he promised to return into Sicily, and attend to the young prince's education.*

*Philistus
sent for by
the courtiers
to oppose him.*

This resolution highly displeased the rest of the courtiers, who, dreading the presence of Plato, of which they foresaw the consequences, united against him as their common enemy. They were, for the most part, young inexperienced debauchees, persons of no merit, and abandoned characters; wherefore they rightly judged, that if all things were to be measured according to the standard of true merit, which was one of Plato's maxims, they could lay no claim to honours, nor expect any favour. They were not able to prevent Plato's voyage, but contrived means to render it ineffectual, by persuading Dionysius to recall Philistus from banishment, who was an experienced officer, and a zealous assertor of tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him to Plato and all his philosophy; for Philistus was not only a brave commander, but a man of extraordinary parts and uncommon learning. He wrote the history of Sicily, and is honoured by Tully with the title of Thucydides the second^{*}.

*Plato arrives at
Syracuse.*

Plato, on his arrival, was received with the highest marks of honour and respect: at his landing he found one of the prince's chariots, with horses richly caparisoned, ready to attend him; and the prince no sooner heard that he was landed, than he commanded a solemn sacrifice to be offered in thanksgiving to the gods, for having sent him

^{*} Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Plut. in Dion. Athen. lib. x. Cic. de Orat. lib. ii.

a man of such merit and wisdom. Plato found Dionysius in the most happy disposition imaginable, and inflamed with an eager desire of profiting by his precepts. The philosopher, by adapting himself, with wonderful address, to the young prince's humour, and gaining his confidence and affection, in a very short time wrought a surprising change in his mind. He had abandoned himself, till then, to idleness, pleasure, and luxury; and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life; but now, awaked, as it were, from a lethargy, he began to have some relish for virtue, and to taste the refined pleasure of a blameless life. The courtiers, who never fail to imitate the prince, seemed to fall in with his inclinations; and, laying aside the frivolous amusements of a court, applied themselves to the study of philosophy, as the only means to preferment.

Philistus and his party were greatly alarmed at the sudden change they observed in Dionysius; and, judging from some expressions, that Plato might, at last, induce him to resign the tyranny, used all possible means to bring that philosopher into disgrace. They began by ridiculing the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato; they attempted to render the zeal of Plato and Dion suspected, by insinuating, that Dion used Plato as a proper instrument to draw Dionysius into a voluntary resignation of the crown, that he might place it on the head of his nephew, the son of Aristomache. "The Athenians, said they, formerly invaded Sicily with a mighty fleet and a formidable army, without being able to subvert the government of Syracuse: and shall now an idle caviller from Athens, an unintelligible sophist, attain that point, and persuade Dionysius to renounce a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, and pleasures, for a pretended supreme good to be found in the Academy?" Such repeated sarcasms raised, in the mind of Dionysius, some suspicion of Dion, as if he really designed to establish his nephew in the sovereignty. The fears of Dionysius were carefully fomented by the enemies of Dion, who were perpetually advising the prince to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. They even forged a letter, which they shewed to Dionysius, pretending that it had been written by Dion to the Carthaginians. As this letter contained several articles of treason, Dionysius flew into a violent passion; and, having concerted with Philistus what measures he should take, by his advice, dissembling his resentment, he led Dion alone to the sea-side, below the

*Conspiracy
of the courtiers
against Dion.*

citadel,

Dion banished.

citadel, where he shewed him the letter, and accused him of entering into a league with his enemies the Carthaginians. Dion might easily have justified himself; but the king refused to hear him, commanding him immediately to go on board a vessel, which lay there ready, with orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and leave him to his fate⁷.

Plato leaves Sicily.

Such unjust treatment raised great clamours in Syracuse, and the whole city declared against it. Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences of the public discontent, in order to appease it in some degree, allowed Dion's relations two vessels to transport him, in Peloponnesus, whither he had retired, his riches and numerous retinue; for he lived with great splendor⁸. As soon as Dion was banished, Dionysius made Plato change his habitation, and remove into the citadel, in appearance to do him more honour, but in reality to secure his person, and prevent him from joining Dion. However, he continued to shew him extraordinary kindness, and, in consequence of jealousy, offered him all his treasures, provided he would prefer his friendship to that of Dion. In the mean time a war breaking out, Dionysius restored Plato to his liberty, and even gave him leave to return to Athens. At his departure he would have loaded him with presents, which Plato refused, only begging that he would recall Dion. Dionysius promised to restore him the following spring; but did not fulfil his promise, and only sent him the revenues of his estate, desiring Plato, in a letter he wrote to him, to excuse his breach of promise, and to impute it to the war. He assured him, that as soon as peace should be re-established, Dion should be recalled, upon condition that he did not meddle with public affairs, nor, in the mean time, lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks; for Dion, during his banishment, visited most of the cities of Greece, and was every where received with extraordinary marks of distinction. The Lacedæmonians made him free of their city, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, who, at that very time, assisted them with a powerful supply in their war with the Thebans. Athens, which he chose for the place of his residence, paid him the highest honours, all the inhabitants of that city striving, as it were, to outdo each other in giving him instances of their esteem and affection. This distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy, who put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues,

Dion highly honoured in Greece.

⁷ Plut. in Dion.

⁸ Plut. *ibid.* Plat. Epist. vii.

ordering them to be paid into his own treasury^a. Such a resolution obliged Dion, who had hitherto lived quietly at Athens, to take another course, as we shall afterwards see.

Dionysius, having put an end to the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been transmitted to us, was again inflamed with a desire of seeing and hearing Plato. He accordingly prevailed upon Archytas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him, and assure him, that he might return with safety; and that, upon his return, the promises which had been made him should be punctually performed. The philosophers deputed Archimedes to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two triremes, with several of his friends on board, to solicit his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, wherein he declared, that, if he refused to return into Sicily, Dion should receive no favours at his hands; but if he complied with his request, the exile should be immediately restored. Plato was very unwilling to trust to the tyrant's mercy and fickle temper; but could not resist the warm solicitations of Dion's friends; he therefore departed for Sicily the third time, being then in the seventieth year of his age. Dionysius received Plato with inexpressible joy; appointed him the best apartment of his palace; and suffered him to have free access at all hours without being searched, a favour not granted to his best friends. The philosopher, seeing that Dionysius reposed an entire confidence in him, entered upon Dion's affair, which was the chief motive of his voyage. But the tyrant evaded it, and in the mean time endeavoured, by heaping all manner of honours on Plato, to lessen his esteem and regard for Dion. The philosopher dissembled on his side, and, though extremely offended at so notorious a breach of faith, carefully concealed his dissatisfaction. However, he could not refrain soliciting in behalf of his friend; and his remonstrances at length so exasperated the tyrant, that he suddenly ordered Plato to remove from his apartment in the palace to another without the castle, where his guards were quartered (F). These had long hated Plato, because he had

Plato returns to Sicily.

Disgraced by Dionysius.

^a Plutarch, *ibid*.

(F) A few days before Dionysius and Plato disagreed, one Helicon of Cyzicum, a particular friend of Plato's, foretold an eclipse of the sun, which happening according to his prediction, Dionysius was so much surprised at it, that he made him a present of a talent. Aristippus, jesting upon that occasion,

*Plato re-
turns to
Greece.*

*Dion re-
solves to
deliver
Sicily.*

had advised Dionysius to dismiss them, and live without any other guard, but the love of his people; but Dionysius restrained their fury, forbidding them, on pain of death, to molest his guest. When Archytas, who was then prætor or chief magistrate of Tarentum, heard of the danger Plato was in, he immediately dispatched ambassadors to Dionysius, to remind him, that Plato came to Syracuse only upon his promise, and on the promise of all the Pythagorean philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; wherefore he could not detain him against his will, nor offer him any insult, without a manifest breach of faith. This remonstrance awaked a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at length allowed Plato to return into Greece. Upon his departure Dionysius throwing off all restraint, abandoned himself to the most shameful vices, setting no bounds to his avarice, cruelty, and rapine^b.

Not long after Plato had left Sicily, Dionysius ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use: neither did he stop here, but gave his half-sister Arete, whom Dion had wedded after the death of Theorides, in marriage to Timocrates, one of his friends and flatterers. Such unworthy treatment Dion could not brook; and therefore from that moment resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and revenge all the wrongs he had suffered. Plato, out of a scrupulous regard to the duties of hospitality, did all that lay in his power to divert him from such a resolution; but, on the other hand, Speusippus, Plato's nephew, with whom Dion had contracted a particular friendship during his abode at Athens, encouraged him to pursue so noble a design, and restore Sicily to its ancient freedom. All the rest of Dion's friends were of the same opinion, and many of the principal citizens of Syracuse continually importuned him to return, desiring him not to be in pain for want of ships or forces, but to embark in the first vessel he met with, and only lend his name to the friends of liberty. Dion did not delay any longer, but undertook the delivery of

^b Plat. Epist. vii. Plut. in Dion. & Moral.

occasion, said, that he likewise will not be long ere Dionysius had something very extraordinary to foretell; and, being and Plato, who at present seem pressed to explain himself, "I to be great friends, will be enemies (1)."

prophecy, (said he), that it

(1) Plutarch. in Dion.

his

his country, which implor'd his protection. No enterprize was ever formed with greater boldness, or conducted with more prudence. He began to raise foreign troops *Raises troops privately.* privately, by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. Many persons of distinction, who were at the head of affairs, entered into his measures, and gave him notice of whatever was transacted in Sicily. But of the exiles, who were above a thousand, dispersed through Sicily and Greece, only twenty-five joined him; so much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The island Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of about eight hundred, all tried on many occasions, well disciplined, and capable of animating, with their example, the forces which Dion hoped to find in Sicily. When they set sail, Dion acquainted them with his design, which, till that time, he had concealed from the common soldiers. The boldness of the undertaking occasioned at first no small consternation; but Dion soon removed their fears, by telling them, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who were ready to receive them with open arms. Dion, before he sailed from Zacynthus, offered a solemn sacrifice to Apollo, and gave a grand entertainment to his small army, which was now impatient to proceed on their voyage, and begin the great work of delivering Sicily from tyranny and oppression. *Sets sail for Sicily.* Next day they embarked on board two trading-vessels, and put to sea with loud shouts of joy, as if they had already dethroned the tyrant.

Dion, after having been twelve days at sea, arrived with his small body of troops at Cape Pachynum, where their pilot advised them to land immediately, lest they should be overtaken by a violent hurricane, with which they were threatened. But Dion, not thinking it safe to land so near the enemy, ordered him to put to sea again, and double the cape; which they had no sooner done, than a furious storm, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, drove them on the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in great danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks; but, luckily for them, the wind changing, they stood out to sea for Sicily, and, with a favourable wind, entered the port of Minoa, not far from Agrigentum. *Dion arrives in Sicily.* This city was then in the hands of the Carthaginians, and governed by one Sybalus, or, as Diodorus calls him, Paralus, Dion's particular friend. They were therefore

*Is joined by
several
states and
great num-
bers of Sy-
racusans;*

*who de-
clare him
and his
brother
Megacles
generals.*

*Dion re-
ceived
with great
joy by the
Syracu-
sans.*

therefore kindly received, and would have remained there some time to refresh themselves after the fatigues of their voyage, had they not received advice, that Dionysius had a few days before embarked for Italy, attended with four-score gallees. Dion, in order to take advantage of his absence, immediately set out for Syracuse; and, on his march, prevailed upon the Agrigentines, Geleans, Camarinians, and other cities, to favour his design. He no sooner entered the Syracusan territories, than multitudes joined him from all parts, every one looking upon him as the deliverer of their country. When he arrived at the Anapus, he ordered his troops to halt, and there offered a sacrifice to the tutelary gods of Syracuse; which being performed, he called an assembly of all the Syracusans in his camp; and after having acquainted them with his design, which was to restore them to their liberty, and suppress tyranny, he desired them to name a general, who should be intrusted with the whole conduct of the enterprize. The multitude cried out with one voice, that Dion and his brother Megacles should be generals, and invested them with absolute power and command. The new generals drew up their army in battalia, and immediately marched to the city, where they were received at the gates by the most considerable of the inhabitants in white habits. As no troops appeared to oppose them, they boldly entered the city, and marched through Acradina to the forum, where they encamped, being in all above fifty thousand men. Here Dion ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult; and, silence being made, a herald proclaimed, that "Dion and Megacles were come to abolish tyranny, and to free the people of Syracuse, and their allies, from the yoke of the tyrant." At these words the whole city resounded with joyful shouts and acclamations. They had lived fifty years in slavery, and saw themselves, by the valour of one man, restored to liberty, when they least expected so happy a change. Wherever Dion passed, the citizens, having set out tables and bowls, and prepared victims, as he came before their houses, threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Dion, seeing himself master of the city, attacked Epipolæ, and took it by storm, setting at liberty the citizens, who were prisoners in the fort. He then surrounded the citadel, whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled, with a strong wall from sea to sea; so that they could receive no suc-

cours

cours by land, nor have any communication with the rest of the city^c.

In the mean time Dionysius, who was at Caulonia in Italy, receiving intelligence of what passed in Syracuse, hastened thither, and entered the citadel by sea seven days after the arrival of Dion. He found his affairs in a desperate condition; and therefore, to gain time, sent ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans, offering to restore the democracy, provided they would confer certain honours upon him in the republican state; he also desired they would appoint deputies to treat with him, that he might put a speedy end to the war. The Syracusans immediately sent some of their citizens to sign an agreement with him, upon the articles which he had proposed; but Dionysius, putting off the conferences from day to day, and observing that the Syracusans, in hops of peace, kept negligent guard, suddenly attacked the wall, with which they had enclosed the citadel, and made several breaches. So warm and unexpected an assault put the Syracusans in great disorder; however they maintained their ground, and fought with great resolution. Dion distinguished himself above all the rest; for, finding that his troops were very backward in engaging the tyrant's mercenaries, and believing example more powerful than words, he threw himself resolutely into the midst of them; and, after having made a great slaughter of the enemy, and broken their ranks, made way for his men to follow his footsteps. His shield being pierced through in many places, and the enemy discharging showers of darts on him from all sides, he was wounded in his right arm with a javelin, and, fainting through the extremity of the pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands; but the Syracusans, highly concerned for the safety of their general, charged the mercenaries in a compact body, and, rescuing Dion, who was exhausted, put the enemy to flight. A great number of the tyrant's troops were slain on the spot; the rest escaped with much difficulty into the citadel. The Syracusans, having gained so glorious a victory, set up a trophy in defiance of the tyrant; rewarded their foreign troops with a considerable sum of money; and presented Dion with a crown of gold. On the other hand Dionysius, having obtained leave to carry off his dead, caused them to be buried in purple robes, with ex-

Dionysius enters the citadel.

Gains time with feigned proposals.

Attacks the Syracusans.

Dion's gallant behaviour.

Dionysius's troops defeated.

^c Plut. & Diodor. *ibid.*

traordinary honours; such as survived, he rewarded with great generosity⁴.

*Ingrati-
tude of the
Syracusans
towards
Dion.*

After this defeat, he sent ambassadors anew to propose terms of peace; but Dion returned no other answer than this, "Let Dionysius first abdicate the tyranny, and then we shall hear him." Dionysius was highly provoked at this haughty and peremptory answer, as he called it; but, however, dissembling his resentment, he sent other ambassadors with a letter to Dion, written with great art and address, and well calculated to render him suspected by the Syracusans, of an intention to seize on the sovereignty for himself. The Syracusans were taken with this gross contrivance, (for Dion read the letter in the public assembly), and began to be jealous of his too great power. The arrival of Heraclides greatly contributed to the shameful steps that ungrateful people took with regard to their deliverer and benefactor. Heraclides was one of the Syracusan exiles, an excellent officer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly commanded under Dionysius; but at the same time he was very ambitious, and a secret enemy to Dion, with whom he had some dispute in Peloponnesus. He arrived at Syracuse with seven triremes, and three other vessels, not with a design to join Dion, but to act separately, in hopes of having himself the glory of expelling the tyrant. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people; and for that task he was wonderfully qualified by an open and insinuating behaviour, whilst Dion's austere gravity was offensive to the multitude, especially as they were become more haughty and untractable by their late victory. Heraclides, by courting them, and in every thing seconding their capricious humour, so gained their affections in a short time, that they appointed him commander in chief of the fleet. Dion, having notice of these irregular proceedings, hastened to the assembly, and highly complained of the affront; for they had conferred upon him (Dion) the supreme command both of the fleet and army. His remonstrances were of such weight with the assembly, that they deprived Heraclides of his new office. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him; and, having gently reprimanded him for his strange conduct in so delicate a conjuncture, when the least division among themselves might be attended with the most fatal consequences, summoned a new assembly; and, in the presence of the

*Heraclides
endeavours
to estrange
the minds of
the people
from Dion.*

⁴ Diodor. Plut. *ibid*.

multitude,

multitude, appointed him admiral, and allowed him such a guard as he had for his own person. Dion imagined, that, by this obliging behaviour, he should subdue his rival's ill-will. But Heraclides was not to be gained so easily; he aimed at the supreme command, and nothing less would satisfy his ambition: he expressed indeed great obligation to Dion, seemed to court his favour, and, in his outward behaviour, shewed a great readiness to obey his orders. But at the same time he secretly influenced the people against him, opposed his measures; and maliciously misrepresented his whole conduct, as if he designed either to save the tyrant, or protract the war. While Heraclides was thus disposing the people to confer the supreme command upon himself, one incident happened, which greatly raised his reputation among the Syracusans. Philistus, the tyrant's admiral, having put to sea with sixty gallees, Heraclides gave chase with his small squadron, obliged him to engage, and gained a complete victory. Philistus behaved with great personal bravery; but, at last, finding himself entirely surrounded by the Syracusans, who were desirous of taking him alive, he laid violent hands on himself, after having discharged the trust reposed in him in a distinguished manner. The Syracusans vented their rage upon his dead body, which they barbarously mangled, dragged it through all the streets of the city, and then threw it over the walls to rot, without burial, in the open fields. He was one of the tyrant's most trusty friends, and had on all occasions given him signal proofs of his fidelity. Dionysius, disheartened by the loss of so steady a friend and experienced an officer, sent ambassadors to Dion, offering to surrender the citadel, with all the troops in garrison, and money to pay them for five months, upon condition that he should be allowed to retire to Italy, and there enjoy, during his life, the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. Dion's advice was, that the terms should be accepted; but the Syracusans, hoping to take Dionysius alive, would listen to no proposals. Wherefore, the tyrant leaving the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, put to sea in a small vessel, and landed undiscovered in Italy, with his most valuable effects.

Philistus, defeated by Heraclides, lays violent hands on himself.

Dionysius flies to Italy.

Heraclides was greatly blamed for having suffered him to escape; and therefore, to regain the favour of the people,

Factions in Syracuse.

* Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

*Dion oblig-
ed to quit
Syracuse.*

*Put: to
flight the
Syracusans,
who pur-
sued him.*

ple, he proposed a new division of lands; insinuating, that they could never enjoy perfect liberty, as long as there was such an inequality in wealth and power. This motion was warmly opposed by Dion; which opposition gave Heraclides an opportunity of rendering him suspected to the people, as if he intended to keep them in subjection, and reduce them to the same state of slavery in which they had been held by their tyrants. By thus pretending to espouse the cause of liberty, he prevailed upon the assembly to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, to appoint new generals, himself among the rest, and to make a new division of lands. At the same time they privately solicited the foreign troops to abandon Dion, and join them, promising to give them a share in the government, as well as the natives and citizens. But these last generously rejected the offer, declaring that they would support Dion to the last, and willingly sacrifice their lives in defence of their general. The populace were so enraged at this declaration, that they began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and throw out threats against Dion and his troops. Thus menaced, those brave men, placing Dion in their centre, began to march out of the city, protesting, that so long as one of them was alive, nobody should hurt their general. In this manner they withdrew, without offering the least violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer and benefactor. The Syracusans, despising their small number, and ascribing their moderation to want of courage, began the attack, not doubting but they should put them all to the sword before they got out of the city. Dion, being thus reduced to the necessity of either destroying those he was come to save, or being himself destroyed with so many brave men, intreated them in the most tender and affectionate manner to hearken to reason, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by ambitious and ill-designing men, pointing with his hand at the citadel, which was full of enemies, who with great joy beheld all that passed. But finding them deaf to all his remonstrances, he commanded his men to face about, and march in close order, as if they designed to fall upon the multitude: they obeyed his orders; and, raising a great shout, advanced, pretending to attack them with the utmost fury. The noise they made with their arms, according to Dion's directions, so terrified the populace, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. Dion did not offer to pursue them, but hastened his march to-
wards

wards the country of the Leontines. The Syracusans, being on their return treated by their countrymen as cowards for having suffered so small a body of men to make their escape, in order to retrieve their honour marched out again in pursuit of Dion; and, coming up with him as he was passing a river, ordered their cavalry to advance to the charge. But when they perceived, that he was resolved in earnest to repel force by force, they were again seized with terror; and, flying in a more shameful manner than before, regained the city¹.

The Leontines not only received Dion with great marks of distinction; but made rich presents to his soldiers, and declared them all free citizens. They likewise sent ambassadors to the Syracusans, complaining of the ill treatment Dion and his troops had experienced, and reminding them of the inestimable favours they had received from so worthy a patriot. The Syracusans replied, that Dion had driven out one tyrant with a design to establish another; and therefore ought to be treated in the same manner as their first tyrant had been, whom they had obliged not only to quit Syracuse, but the island.

*Dion well
received
by the Leontines.*

In the mean time the tyrant's troops in the citadel, being reduced by famine to the utmost extremity, resolved at last to surrender both the place and themselves to the Syracusans. Accordingly they sent deputies to obtain the best terms they could procure; but while they were actually conferring with the townsmen, Nypsius, a general of experienced valour, and greatly attached to Dionysius, appeared with a numerous squadron of galleys, and a great many transports laden with corn, and all kinds of provision. Nypsius anchored in the port of Arethusa; and, having landed the men he brought with him, called a council of war, wherein he made a speech to the garrison suitable to the present occasion; and, with hopes of ample rewards, engaged them to promise, that they would never submit to the enemy upon any terms whatsoever. The Syracusans no sooner heard of this new supply, than they manned as many galleys as they had at hand; and attacking the enemy while they were unloading the corn, and other provisions, sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin: for, slighting the enemy, whom they looked upon as utterly vanquished, they gave themselves up to feasting, revelling,

¹ Plut. in Dion. p. 972, 975. Diodor. lib. xvi.

*Syracuse
taken by
the garrison
of the ci-
tadel.*

and all kind of debauchery; which, insatiation, Nypsius did not fail to improve to his advantage. That brave commander, desirous to repair his late loss by some bold attempt, ordered his men to march out of the citadel, and assault the wall by which it was enclosed. They met with no opposition, the guards being every where asleep after their last night's debauch: having therefore in silence applied their scaling-ladders, some of the most resolute mounted the wall, killed the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Thus all the garrison, consisting of ten thousand well disciplined troops, entered the city, cut all those to pieces who opposed them, and made such a dreadful havock as can hardly be expressed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houses were plundered, and their wives and children either cruelly butchered before their faces, or carried captives into the citadel, without regard to their tears and lamentations. The slaughter was so great, that the streets were every where covered with dead bodies, and the private houses filled with blood.

*Dion re-
called.*

The citizens finding themselves in this desperate condition, knew not what to resolve on. They were well apprised, that Dion was the only person who could administer them any relief; but no one had courage enough to name him; so much were they ashamed of their ingratitude towards their protector. As the danger increased every moment, and the enemy was preparing to set fire to the city, one boldly cried out, "Let us send for Dion." His name was no sooner pronounced, than the whole multitude, with shouts of joy, approved the motion; accordingly deputies were that instant dispatched to Leontini; who arriving late in the evening, threw themselves at Dion's feet, and acquainted him with the deplorable condition of Syracuse. Dion no sooner heard them, than he assembled a council of war; and, having introduced the Syracusan deputies, desired them to lay before his officers the state of their city. This they described in a very moving speech, entreating Dion to forget the ill treatment he had received, the rather because that unfortunate people had already paid dear for it; and they acknowledged the miseries they suffered justly inflicted upon them for their ingratitude towards the father of his country. As soon as they had concluded, Dion rose up; but, instead of speaking, burst into tears, and could not for some time utter a single word. The foreign soldiers, who were mostly Peloponnesians, endeavoured to console him, and expressed

*The Syra-
cusan depu-
ties, how
received
by him.*

expressed a general compassion in seeing their leader so overwhelmed with grief. At length, having recovered himself, he addressed his troops, and the people of Leontini, in the following terms: "Men of Peloponnesus, and you, our allies, I have assembled you here, that you may consider what is proper to be done with regard to yourselves: as for me, I am already determined, and must not be wavering, when my country is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I will perish with it, and be buried in its ruins. But for you, if you will be so generous as to forget the ill treatment you have received at our hands, and assist us once more, follow my example; but if your just complaints against the Syracusans prevail with you to abandon them in their present distress, and suffer them to perish, may the gods amply reward you for the affection and fidelity you have hitherto expressed for me! I only beg that you will remember Dion, who did not abandon you, when you were basely treated by his country; nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes." He had no sooner done speaking, than the foreign troops, with one voice, intreated him to lead them on that moment against the enemy. The deputies, transported with joy, tenderly embraced them, praying the gods to second their generous resolution. As soon as the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to refresh themselves, and return with their arms to the same place, being resolved to set out that very night on his march to Syracuse.

The deplorable condition of Syracuse.

In the mean time the soldiers of Dionysius, after having committed all sorts of outrages in the city, had retired at night into the citadel. This short respite gave Dion's enemies new courage; who flattering themselves that the garrison would not venture again out of the castle, began to exhort the Syracusans to think no more of Dion, but to defend themselves by their own valour. They so far prevailed, that new deputies were dispatched from the chief commanders to stop his march; but his friends, at the same time, sent some trusty citizens to entreat him not to hearken to the embassies of such as were equally enemies to him and their country. Dion therefore pursued his march; but the opposite faction seized the gates with a design to dispute his entrance. In the mean time Nypsius, well apprised of the divisions that reigned in the city, made another sally from the citadel, and caused such a dreadful havock in all quarters, that from the heaps of dead bodies, with which the streets, the squares, and the

forum, were strewed, it might have been believed, that not a single citizen had been left alive. They spared neither age nor sex, but put all, without distinction, to the sword. Nothing but murder and bloodshed was seen in every corner; and because they were informed, that Dion was hastening to the relief of the city, they seemed determined to destroy it entirely before his arrival; for, after they had murdered all the inhabitants they could discover, with burning torches, straw, and other combustibles, they set fire to the houses; so that many, who had escaped the sword, were miserably consumed in the flames^s.

*Dion re-
lieves Sy-
racuse.*

During this confusion, Dion unexpectedly arrived; and, having detached his light-armed troops against the enemy to reanimate the citizens who were still alive, by their presence, he drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and divided them into small parties, that they might be able to attack in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy. Having made the dispositions, and invoked the gods, he marched through the city against the enemy, being every where welcomed with acclamations, shouts of joy, and songs of victory. There was not one in the city so fond of life, as not to be in more pain for Dion's safety than his own: they were all under the greatest apprehensions in seeing him march the foremost over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the public streets were covered. The enemy, hearing that Dion had entered the city, posted themselves in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, determined, at all events, to maintain that post, lest their communication with the city should be cut off. It was with the greatest difficulty that Dion's army kept their order, being often obliged to march through the fire, and clouds of smoke, while the roofs and beams of the houses, half consumed by the flames, falling down, broke their ranks. At length they arrived at the place where the enemy waited for them, and began the attack. The slaughter was great on both sides, and the fight continued for several hours before Dion could get over the ruins which covered the enemy; but at length the Peloponnesians, animating each other with mutual shouts, made such a vigorous effort, that the enemy, though far superior in number, were borne down, and forced to give way; the greatest part of them fled into the citadel, and the rest were cut in pieces by the victorious Peloponnesians.

^s Plut. *ibid.*

ans.

ans. The city being thus delivered, Dion's soldiers, instead of refreshing themselves after such great fatigues, spent all that night in extinguishing the fire, which they quenched at length, not without great danger and difficulty^b.

Next day Heraclides, and his uncle Theodotus, two of Dion's greatest enemies, put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him to forget their ungrateful behaviour, and restore them to his favour, of which they acknowledged themselves unworthy. Dion's adherents advised him not to spare them, since they would not fail to raise new disturbances in the city, and defeat in the end so glorious a victory. But Dion, believing he could get the better of their stubborn and restless temper, by mild and generous treatment, pardoned them both. Heraclides seemed to be affected by this kindness; for the same day he proposed in the assembly, that Dion should be elected generalissimo with supreme power by sea and land. But the ungrateful populace, whose darling Heraclides was, opposed this motion; and Dion, to avoid new disturbances, gave up that point, suffering Heraclides to command in chief at sea¹.

Heraclides and Theodotus submit to Dion;

who generously pardons them.

All things being now quiet, the Syracusans, under the direction of Dion, applied themselves solely to the siege of the citadel; and, in a short time, reduced the numerous garrison to such difficulties, that Apollocrates, the tyrant's son, was obliged to capitulate. Dion allowed him to retire unmolested to his father in Italy, with five galleys, and all his friends and relations. It is not easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. All the inhabitants crowded to the shore, to gratify their eyes with such an agreeable sight, and to solemnize the happy day, on which, after so many years slavery, the Syracusans could again style themselves a free people.

The citadel surrenders.

As soon as Apollocrates set sail, Dion entered the citadel at the head of his troops, and was met at the gate by his sister Aristomache, leading his son, and by his wife Arete, whom Dionysius had given in marriage to Timocrates. Dion embraced his sister first, and then his son; whereupon Arete, drenched in tears, was ready to swoon, when Aristomache presenting her to Dion; "The tears, (said she), you see her shed at the time your presence restores us to life and joy, her silence and confusion, may well convince you, that you alone have always possessed her heart. Shall she embrace you as her husband, or die

Dion enters the citadel. Is met by his sister and wife.

^b Plut. & Diodor. *ibid.*

¹ Plut. *ibid.*

at your feet, abandoned by you for what she has suffered against her will?" At these words Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced her; gave her his son, and sent her home to his house, whither he soon followed her, leaving the Syracusans in possession of the citadel, as a pledge of their liberty. After this achievement, Dion rewarded, with a magnificence truly royal, all those who had contributed to his success, according to their rank and merit, dismissed his guards, and, though at the height of glory, lived like a private citizen.

As the city was now in a profound tranquility, Dion attempted to establish in it a form of government, composed of the Spartan and Cretan constitutions, but wherein the aristocratical was to prevail. The supreme authority, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council, of which the members were to be chosen by the people and nobility. But this design was warmly opposed by Heraclides, who, still turbulent and seditious, inflamed the people on that occasion against Dion, asserting that he intended to abridge their power, and subject them to the nobility. Hereupon Dion, finding that Heraclides opposed all prudent counsels, was at last prevailed upon to consent to his death; and he was accordingly, by Dion's friends, dispatched in his own house. Dion publicly owned, that he had been put to death by his order; and, in an harangue to the people, convinced them, that it was impossible for the city to be free from commotions and sedition while Heraclides lived. However, Dion never after enjoyed a happy hour, but lived in continual anguish and sorrow, reproaching himself with having imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizen. Not long after this event, his son, for some unknown disappointment, threw himself from the top of a house, and died of the fall. This catastrophe increased Dion's affliction; but neither his grief nor life lasted long, Calippus having, by the blackest treachery, deprived Syracuse of the greatest hero it ever produced.

Calippus was an Athenian, and had contracted an intimate friendship with Dion, who lodged in his house at Athens, and ever after ranked himself among his particular and intimate friends. Having attended Dion into Sicily after the tyrant was expelled, he gave himself up to ambitious views, and began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse; but, as he was well apprised, that he could not accomplish his design so long as Dion was alive, he threw off all regard for the sacred

tica

*Heraclides
put to death
by Dion's
order.*

ties of friendship and hospitality, and determined to take away his life. Notwithstanding the care he used to conceal his wicked purpose, it came to the knowledge of Dion's friends and relations, who all earnestly exhorted him to prevent Calippus's crime, by inflicting upon him the punishment his base treachery deserved. But he could not be prevailed upon to take any such resolution, saying, he had rather die a thousand deaths, than live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends. He could not even be induced to have a guard for the security of his person: Calippus, therefore, having one night entered his house with a band of Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest, murdered him without meeting with the least opposition; and, apprehending his wife and sister, caused them to be carried to the public prison ^k.

Dion-treacherously murdered.

After the death of Dion, Calippus, with the assistance of the Zacynthian troops, made himself master of Syracuse, and practised there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants before him had ever exercised. Having marched with his forces again Catana, Syracuse revolted, and shook off so shameful a yoke. He then withdrew to Messina; but the inhabitants, taking up arms, shut their gates against him, and in a sally cut off most of the Zacynthian troops, who had murdered Dion. No city in Sicily would admit such an execrable monster; whereupon he left the island, and retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was slain by Leptines and Polyperchon with the same dagger which he had used in the murder of Dion ^l.

Calippus, or Gylippus, makes himself master of Syracuse; but is soon driven out,

and murdered.

As for Aristomache and Arete, upon the downfall of Calippus, they were set at liberty, and at first kindly entertained by Ictas of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, who received them into his house. But Ictas, at last complying with the importunities of Dion's enemies, provided a vessel for them; and, having put them on board, under pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, ordered the commander of the ship to put them to death in the passage, and throw them into the sea. His orders were put in execution; but Ictas, as we shall see hereafter, paid dear for this inhuman conduct.

Dion's wife and sister put to death.

Upon Dion's death the city was involved in greater miseries than ever: Calippus usurped the supreme power; but after ten months was expelled by Hipparinus, the

New troubles in Syracuse.

^k Plut. *ibid*.

^l Idem *ibid*.

*Dionysius,
a new ma-
ster of Sy-
racuse.*

Yr. of Fl.
1998.
Ante Chr.
350.

*The Syra-
cusans re-
cur to the
Corinthi-
ans.*

*Timoleon
sent into
Sicily.*

*Account of
him.*

brother of Dionysius, who, arriving unexpectedly with a numerous fleet, possessed himself of the city, and held it for the space of two years. Syracuse and all Sicily being thus divided into parties and factions, Dionysius, taking advantage of these troubles, assembled some foreign troops, and, having defeated Nypsius, who was then governor of Syracuse, reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His past misfortunes, instead of softening his fierce temper, had served only to inflame it, and render him more savage and brutal than ever. The better sort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Ictas, who was born at Syracuse, but at that time tyrant of Leontini: they created him general of all their forces, and put themselves under his conduct; not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. In the mean time the Carthaginians, thinking this a very favourable opportunity to seize upon Sicily, sent a powerful fleet thither. In this extremity the Syracusans had recourse to the Corinthians, from whom they were descended, and who, of all the Greek nations, were the most professed enemies of tyranny, and most generous assertors of liberty. Ictas, who had nothing else in view but to make himself master of Syracuse, and had already entered into a treaty with the Carthaginians, seemed to approve of these measures, and even sent his deputies along with those of the Syracusans; but, in the mean time, was contriving how he could prevent the Corinthians from sending any forces into the island, which, according to his late treaty with the Carthaginians, was, after the expulsion of Dionysius, to be divided between him and them. The Syracusan ambassadors met with a very kind reception at Corinth, where, in a general assembly, it was resolved that succours should be afforded Sicily; and that Timoleon should be forthwith dispatched to Syracuse, to take upon him the command of the Syracusan forces against Dionysius and the Carthaginians^m.

Timoleon had led a retired life for twenty years, without ever interfering in public affairs, and expected nothing less than to be employed, or even thought of, on such an occasion. He was sprung from one of the most illustrious families of Corinth, and had, on all occasions, signalized himself in the defence of his country, against the unjust

^m Plât. in Timol.

pretensions of foreign as well as domestic tyrants. He had an elder brother, named Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, and had saved in battle, by covering him with his own body. But his country was still dearer to him. Timophanes was suspected to entertain thoughts of seizing on the sovereignty, which Timoleon being informed of, used all possible means to divert him from so wicked an attempt; but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that neither kindness, friendship, affection, nor even menaces, could prevail upon a heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be put to death in his presence by two of his intimate friends. This action, was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth; but highly blamed by others, who reproached him as an abominable parricide, who would not fail of drawing the vengeance of the gods upon himself and his country. His mother, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and, when he came to comfort her, she caused the doors to be shut against him, not being able to bear the sight of one who had murdered his brother. This hatred struck him with such horror, that, considering Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but only as a brother, he resolved to put an end to his unhappy life, by abstaining from all nourishment. But his friends having, with the utmost difficulty, dissuaded him from this fatal resolution, he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excessive grief and melancholy. After he had passed near twenty years in this condition, he returned to Corinth; but lived there quite private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration. As he had, by the death of his brother, given a remarkable instance of his aversion to tyranny and tyrants, the Corinthians chose him as the most proper man to be sent into Sicily, which at that time abounded with tyrants above all other countries, there being scarce a city in the whole island which was not held in slavery by some usurper. It was not without great difficulty that Timoleon was prevailed upon to accept the command; but at last his duty getting the better of his inclination, he complied with the request of his friends, and began to raise forces for the intended expedition^a.

^a Plut. *ibid*.

Icetas endeavours to hinder the arrival of Timoleon.

Timoleon arrives on the coast of Italy.

In the mean time Icetas, who intended to possess himself of Syracuse, under colour of assisting the inhabitants against Dionysius, foreseeing that Timoleon would defeat his measures, dispatched ambassadors to the Corinthians, acquainting them, that the Carthaginians, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron with a great fleet; and that their slowness in sending him succours had obliged him to call in even the Carthaginians to his aid, and employ them against the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any farther levies, or exhausting their treasures in great but useless expences, since he could, with the assistance of his allies, the Carthaginians, drive out Dionysius, and restore Syracuse to its ancient liberty. The speech of the ambassadors, and the letters which they delivered from Icetas, only served to hasten the departure of Timoleon, who was now fully convinced, that Icetas acted treacherously, and aspired at the sovereignty. He, therefore, immediately embarked his men, who amounted only to one thousand, on board ten galleys, and, putting to sea, arrived safe on the coast of Italy. There he received intelligence that Icetas had defeated Dionysius, and, having made himself master of the greatest part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel. At the same time Timoleon was informed, that Icetas had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent his approach, and destroy his squadron as soon as it should appear on the coasts of Sicily. Nevertheless he advanced with his small fleet to Rhegium, where he found ambassadors from Icetas, who were charged to acquaint him, that he should be kindly received at Syracuse, provided he dismissed his troops; but otherwise the Syracusans, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into their city. At the same time twenty Carthaginian galleys arrived in the port of Rhegium, sent by Icetas to prevent the Corinthians from approaching Syracuse. In this nice conjuncture Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the chief commanders of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. He pretended to be willing to return home, but said, that he would first hear the Rhegians, and do it by their advice, that he might, on his return to Corinth, be able to justify his conduct. The magistrates of Rhegium acted in conjunction with him, and desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily. They, therefore, summoned

an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themselves only to the discussing such an important affair.

The assembly being met, long speeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance, with great warmth, on purpose to gain time. While the Carthaginians were busy in the council, nine Corinthian galleys, according to the orders they had received from Timoleon, set sail, and were suffered to pass, the Carthaginians believing their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who were in the city. When Timoleon was privately informed that his galleys were at sea, he slipped out of the assembly, and, making to the galley that was left, embarked, and rejoined the rest of his squadron. The Carthaginians, thus deluded, pursued him; but, as he had got the start of them, the assembly not having broke up till it was dark, he arrived safe at Taurominium.

Timoleon deludes the Carthaginians, and arrives in Sicily.

Upon the unexpected news of Timoleon's arrival in Sicily, Icetas put the Carthaginians, who had a fleet of a hundred and fifty galleys, in possession of the harbour of Syracuse, and dispatched an express to Mago, the Carthaginian general, desiring him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time Timoleon, leaving Taurominium, marched to Adranum, where he attacked a Carthaginian detachment, commanded by Icetas in person, and put them to flight, though they were above four times his number. As victory naturally begets friends, not only Adranum, but several other cities, opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined him with all their forces; so that he now boldly advanced to the relief of Syracuse. On his arrival he found the Syracusans in a deplorable condition, Icetas being master of the city, the Carthaginians in possession of the port, and Dionysius of the citadel. The latter, seeing himself closely besieged, without any hopes of relief, sent privately to Timoleon, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would suffer him to retire unmolested. Timoleon, taking the advantage of this offer, willingly agreed to the terms, and detached Euclid and Telemachus, with four hundred men, to take possession of that important place. Dionysius received them within the walls, and delivered up not only all his warlike stores and provisions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with seventy thousand complete suits of armour, and two thousand regular troops, which

Icetas defeated by Timoleon.

Timoleon

Yr. of Fl.
1000.
Ante Chr.
348.

*Dionysius
surrenders
himself to
Timoleon.*

*Arrives at
Corinth.*

*His man-
ner of life
there.*

*Icetas be-
sieves the
citadel of
Syracuse.*

Timoleon incorporated among his Corinthians. Then Dionysius, taking with him some of his friends, and part of his treasures, embarked in a small vessel, and repaired, unperceived by the troops of Icetas, to the camp of Timoleon. There he appeared, for the first time, as a private man and a suppliant, after he had been, near twelve years, lord of one of the most wealthy kingdoms then known. Timoleon sent him to Corinth with one galley only, and without a convoy; however, he escaped the Carthaginian vessels which lay in wait to intercept him, and arrived safe. He was, at first, greatly pitied by the Corinthians; but his manner of life soon changed their compassion into contempt. He passed whole days in perfumers shops, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them on the rules of music, and the harmony of airs. Some believed that he behaved thus out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, or betray any thought of recovering his dominions. Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at Corinth, where, says Tully*, he exercised that tyranny over children, which he could no longer practise over men. Philip, king of Macedon, meeting, one day, Dionysius in the streets at Corinth, asked how he came to lose so powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father; Dionysius answered, that his father indeed had left him a rich kingdom, but not the fortune which had preserved both him and his kingdom†.

But to return to Syracuse: after the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas laid siege to the citadel, which was defended only by four hundred Corinthians, left there by Timoleon, under the command of one Leon, an experienced and brave officer. Timoleon, who had withdrawn to Catana, sent the garrison frequent supplies of provisions; but they were, for the most part, intercepted by Icetas, who kept the place closely blocked up on all sides. When they were reduced to the last extremity, Timoleon found means to relieve them, by conveying into the place, in spite of all opposition, a great quantity of corn. Whereupon Icetas and Mago, being convinced that they could not become masters of the citadel so long as Timoleon was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in Syracuse, and, with the rest, either drive Timoleon from Catana, or block him up in that city. When they were

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii.
lib. viii.

† Demet. Phaler. de Eloc. 111.

absent on this expedition, Leon, who commanded in the citadel, observing that those, who were left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed a great many of them, put the rest to flight; and, having possessed himself of that quarter of the city called Acradina, fortified it, and, by works of communication, joined it to the citadel. The news of this disaster soon brought back Mago and Ictas; but they could not drive the enemy from Acradina. In the mean time a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, sent from Corinth, landed safely in Sicily, having eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron. Timoleon, encouraged with this new reinforcement, marched against Messana; and, having made himself master of that city, advanced to Syracuse. As he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries into the enemy's camp, who artfully spread among the Syracusans, and other Greeks, serving under Ictas and Mago, that Timoleon's only design was to restore them to their ancient liberty; that it was shameful for Greeks to fight under the standard of a tyrant; and that, if they joined Timoleon, the war would be soon at an end, and not only peace, but liberty, restored to the whole island. Such discourses being diffused throughout the camp, and even reaching Mago's ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary Greeks, that general began to be very uneasy. As he wanted only a pretence to retire, he reported, that his forces were going to betray him; and, without hearkening to the intreaties and remonstrances of Ictas, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily. On his arrival at Carthage he laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment which his cowardice deserved.

*Messana
reduced by
Timoleon.*

*Mago re-
turns to
Carthage.*

Next day Timoleon appeared before the city, with his army in order of battle, and assaulted it in three different quarters with such vigour, that the troops of Ictas were every where driven from the walls; and that part of the city which they held was taken by storm. Timoleon no sooner saw himself master of Syracuse, and all the forts which had been built by the tyrants, than he caused a proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, inviting the citizens to come the next day with necessary tools, and demolish with their own hands the citadel, and other castles, which he called the nests of tyrants. The Syra-

*Timoleon
master of
Syracuse.*

*Demolishes
the citadel.*

¹ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. cap. 11, & 12. Plut. in Timol.

cusians, looking upon that day as the first of their real liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which they soon demolished, together with the forts, and the tyrant's palaces, breaking open at the same time their tombs, and destroying every monument of tyranny. The citadel being quite razed, Timoleon caused public edifices to be erected, in the spot where it stood, for the administration of justice. He found the city in a most miserable condition; for many having perished in the wars and seditions, and others fled to avoid the evils attending tyranny, that once wealthy and populous place was become almost a desert; inasmuch that the horses grazed on the grass that grew in the market-place. The other cities of Sicily were, in the same manner, abandoned and desolate. Timoleon, therefore, wrote to Corinth, desiring the magistrates to send a new colony to repopulate Syracuse, which could no otherwise recover its former splendor. The Corinthians, commiserating the condition of a city which themselves had founded, sent to all the sacred games of Greece, and public assemblies, where they caused proclamation to be made by heralds, declaring that the Corinthians, having abolished the tyranny of Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants, restored Syracuse to its former liberty; and inviting all those, who had withdrawn from their native country, to repair thither, and take possession of their lands and estates. At the same time they dispatched couriers into Asia, and the neighbouring islands, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, exhorting them to repair to Corinth, where they should be supplied with vessels, and, at the expence of the public, conveyed to their own country.

*Syracuse
repeopled
by the Co-
rinthians.*

When it was publicly known, that Syracuse was delivered from the oppression of tyrants, and that Corinth received all the fugitives, in order to transport them to their native city, great numbers flocked thither from all parts; but as they were not sufficient to repopulate that great city, they intreated the Corinthians, and other cities of Greece, to spare them some of their inhabitants; and, their request being granted, they embarked for Syracuse, amounting to above ten thousand. At the same time great multitudes of people from Italy, and other parts of Sicily, joined Timoleon, who distributed the lands among them gratis, but sold the houses, and, with the money

* Plut. in Timol.

arising

arising from the sale, established a fund for the support of the poor and needy.

Timoleon, having thus raised Syracuse in a manner from the grave, undertook the delivery of all Sicily, and the extirpation of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities. He compelled Ictas, tyrant of Leontini, to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, demolish his forts, and resign his sovereignty. Leptines, tyrant of Engyæ and Apollonia, being closely besieged, surrendered to the conqueror, who spared his life, and sent him, with several other tyrants, to Corinth, where he led a private life. Afterwards he possessed himself of Entella, and put to death all those who adhered to the Carthaginians. The fame of his victories being now spread all over the island, the Greek cities every where submitted to him, and were restored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many towns likewise of the Sicani and Siculi, subject to the Carthaginians, sent ambassadors to him, desiring to be admitted among his confederates.

Timoleon delivers the other cities of Sicily from their tyrants.

Sicily being freed by Timoleon from the many tyrants who held the people in subjection, and restored liberty to the whole island, returned to Syracuse, where, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent from Corinth, he instituted such laws as were most proper for the democracy. Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the Syracusans called the amphipolus of Jupiter Olympius: and the first amphipolus was Callimenes. Hence arose the custom among the Syracusans, to compute their years by the respective governments of these magistrates, which custom continued in the time of Diodorus Siculus, that is, in the reign of Augustus, above three hundred years after the office of amphipolus was first introduced.

Appoints new magistrates at Syracuse.

The amphipolus.

Timoleon, having reformed the government of Syracuse, and, by many wise laws, settled the city in peace and tranquillity, began to entertain thoughts of driving the Carthaginians out of the island. With this view he sent a strong detachment, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into the neighbouring countries subject to the Carthaginians, enjoining them to plunder all those cities which refused to renounce their alliance with Carthage. By these means he acquired a vast sum of money, which served to pay his soldiers their arrears,

Timoleon makes war upon the Carthaginians.

• Plut. *ibid.* & Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. cap. 12.

and make the necessary preparations for the war he meditated. The Carthaginians, suspecting his design, sent over into Sicily Asdrubal and Amilcar, two experienced commanders, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships, and a thousand transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all sorts of provisions. These no sooner landed at Lilybæum than Timoleon advanced against them, though his army consisted of only seven thousand men. On his march, one of his mercenaries, named Thracius, cried out, that Timoleon was not in his right senses; else, with such an handful of men, he would never attempt to oppose so numerous an army; that he was leading them to certain and unavoidable destruction; and that if he was not *distracted*, he could propose nothing else than the sacrificing of *their* lives, because he was not able to pay them their arrears. By this speech he prevailed upon a thousand of the mercenaries to return to Syracuse. This defection did not dishearten Timoleon, who having, by large promises, brought back the other mercenaries to their duty, continued his march to the banks of the river Cremissus, where the enemy was encamped. His unexpected arrival occasioned great confusion in the Carthaginian army, which he improving to his advantage, attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemy's forces, who had already passed the river, were defeated, and put to flight, before the rest could come up to their assistance. In the mean time, the whole army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory continued a long time doubtful; but while the Carthaginians were fighting with great resolution, and endeavouring to surround Timoleon's small army, there suddenly arose a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which, beating on the faces of the Carthaginians, put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground. As soon as they began to retire, the Greeks, encouraging one another with shouts, pressed the enemy so vigorously, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned. The sacred cohort or brigade, as the Carthaginians called it, which consisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of Carthage, all men of experienced valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they were cut off to a man. Of the rest, ten thousand were slain, and above fifteen thousand taken prisoners; all their baggage and provision, with two hundred chariots;

The Carthaginians defeated.

chariots, a thousand coats of mail, and ten thousand shields, fell into the enemy's hands, and were either sent to Corinth, and there dedicated to Neptune, or hung up in the temples of Syracuse. The spoil, consisting of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, he divided among the soldiery, retaining nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory.

Their baggage and provisions taken.

Timoleon, after this victory, returned to Syracuse, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and attended to his house by the magistrates, and chief citizens, the people, as he passed, throwing flowers upon him, and paying him such honours as were due to heroes or demi-gods. Soon after his arrival, he banished the thousand mercenaries who had deserted him, ordering them to leave Syracuse before sun-set.

As soon as the news of this overthrow reached Carthage, the people were seized with such terror, that they immediately dispatched ambassadors into Sicily, with orders to obtain peace upon any terms whatsoever. As several new tyrants had already started up, and formed a powerful alliance against Timoleon, he thought it advisable to conclude a peace with the Carthaginians, and turn his arms against those usurpers. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: that all the Greek cities should be set free; that the river Halycus, or, as Diodorus calls it, the Lycus, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the Carthaginians should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to Syracuse, with their families and effects; and lastly, that Carthage should not for the future give any assistance to the tyrants against the Syracusans.

Peace concluded with the Carthaginians.

Timoleon, having nothing to fear from the Carthaginians, marched against the tyrants, determining to expel them the island. Ictas had already taken the field, but was quickly routed by Timoleon, who, following his victory, made him, his son Eupolemus, and the general of his horse, prisoners, and put them to death. His wife and daughter fell likewise into his hands, and were sent to Syracuse, where they were sentenced to die, and executed accordingly, the people of Syracuse thus revenging the death of Dion's wife and sister, whom Ictas had caused to be thrown into the sea, as we have before related. Mamercus tyrant of Catana, Hippon, tyrant of

All the Sicilian tyrants taken, and put to death.

* Plut. & Diod. ubi supra.

*Timoleon
resigns his
authority,
and leads a
retired life.*

*Gratitude
shown by
the Syracu-
sans to their
deliverer.*

*Timoleon
dies.*

Messana, and all the other tyrants of Sicily, met with the like fate, being first vanquished by Timoleon, and then put to death by those whom they had tyrannically oppressed. Thus Timoleon, having entirely purged Sicily of the tyrants who had long oppressed it, given Syracuse wife laws, every where re-established peace and tranquility, re-peopled the cities, and supplied them with means to recover their ancient splendor, resigned his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had, out of gratitude, bestowed upon him the best house in the city, and another very magnificent and pleasant villa in the country, whither he retired with his wife and children. In this retirement he passed the remainder of his life, enjoying the satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such numbers of people, indebted to him for their happiness. He was tried in his old age with a very sensible affliction, which was the loss of his sight. In this condition the Syracusans gave him great instances of their gratitude, paying him frequent visits, and carrying all strangers of distinction to salute their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to discuss in the assembly of the people, they never failed to invite him thither, and religiously to follow his advice. He generally came in a chariot, and was attended from the gates of the city to the place of assembly by the whole city, and reconducted in the same manner beyond the gates with loud shouts and acclamations. He lived in this retirement eight years, and was, after his death, honoured as a god. He was buried with great pomp and magnificence, the people of Syracuse having decreed, that two hundred minæ should be laid out on that occasion; but the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered in honour of his memory, were the chief ornaments of his funeral. It was also enacted by a special decree, that annually, on the day of his death, public sports should be celebrated, with horse-races and gymnastic games; and that, whenever the people of Syracuse should be engaged in a war with the Barbarians, they should send to Corinth for a general.

The Syracusans enjoyed, for the space of twenty years, the fruits of Timoleon's victories. But it was impossible, that a nation, which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, should be long free from tumults and sedition. Great disturbances daily arising, the citizens were

* Plut. & Diodor. *ibid.*

again

again involved in the same calamities, from which Timoleon had with such difficulty delivered them. A new tyrant started up among them, who exceeded all who had gone before him, in cruelty, and all other vices. This was Agathocles, of whose birth and parentage Diodorus gives us the following account. He was the son of one Carfinus, who, being banished from Rhegium, his native country, settled at Thermæ in Sicily, at that time subject to the Carthaginians. There he married a native of the place, who, being troubled with strange dreams while she was with child of Agathocles, imparted them to some Carthaginians who were going to Delphi, desiring them to consult the oracle, in her name, about the child she was pregnant with. The Carthaginians complied with her request; and the oracle returned this answer, that the child would bring dreadful calamities upon the Carthaginians, and all Sicily. The father, terrified by this prediction, exposed his son, as soon as it was born, in the open fields, charging one of his friends to watch it till it died. As the infant continued several days alive, the person placed there to guard it grew weary, and retired home; a circumstance which the mother having notice of, immediately repaired to the place, and, carrying the child to the house of her brother Heraclides, entrusted it with him, calling it, after her father's name, Agathocles. When he was seven years old, Carfinus was invited by Heraclides to a solemn feast and sacrifice; and on that occasion seeing Agathocles, he was greatly struck with his beauty; for he is said to have been one of the handsomest men of his age. His wife seizing that opportunity to remind him of his son, told him, that the child he had exposed would have proved as fine a child as that he so much admired, had he not been so barbarously murdered. At these words the father burst out in tears, and said, that he heartily repented of the cruel action. Hereupon the mother ventured to discover the truth; at this intelligence he rejoiced greatly; but soon after, out of fear of the Carthaginians, removed, with all his family, to Syracuse, where, as he was by trade a potter, he brought up his son to the same business. After Timoleon had routed the Carthaginians on the banks of the Cremissus, he promised to make all those, who should join him, free of Syracuse; and on this occasion it was that Carfinus and his son Agathocles were enrolled among the Syracusan citizens. Carfinus died soon after; but Agathocles being recommended by his beauty to one Demas, a rich, but

*The parents
of Agathocles.*

*His mother
troubled
with
strange
dreams.*

*His educa-
tion.*

His rise.

voluptuous and lewd nobleman of Syracuse, he was plentifully supplied by him with money, and whatever else he had occasion for. Demas was soon after created general of the Agrigentines, when he did not forget his favourite, but advanced him to the dignity of a chiliarch, giving him the command of a thousand men. He had some time before served as a common soldier, and was even then very remarkable for his dexterity in performing the military evolutions, and the great strength of his body, wearing in the usual exercises such heavy armour as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he was raised to the post of a chiliarch, he distinguished himself on all occasions above the other commanders, being as ready to expose his own life to the greatest dangers, as the lives of those he commanded. In the mean time Demas dying, and leaving his whole estate to his wife, Agathocles married her, and by that match became at once the most wealthy citizen in Syracuse.

He is driven from Syracuse.

He did not long enjoy his good fortune in Syracuse, being driven from thence by Sofistratus, who, having usurped the supreme power, and made himself absolute master of that city, banished all those who gave him any umbrage. Agathocles retired to Italy, where he acquired great reputation in the war which the Crotonians had waged with the Brutians. He settled at Crotona, where he was kindly entertained; but forgetting the favours shewn him by the Crotonians, he attempted to make himself lord of their city, and was on that account obliged to save himself by flight from the fury of the incensed multitude. From Crotona he withdrew to Tarentum, but was soon expelled from that city also, being there convicted of the like practices. As no other city would receive him, he assembled a band of exiles and robbers, and plundered the country. In the mean time Sofistratus having crossed over into Italy, and laid siege to Rhegium, Agathocles attacked him unexpectedly, forced his camp, and obliged him to reembark his men, and drop that enterprize. Sofistratus, soon after this unsuccessful expedition, was forced to abdicate the sovereignty, and quit Syracuse. With him were driven out above six hundred of the chief citizens, suspected by the populace to have formed a design of abolishing the democracy, and introducing oligarchy in its room. Sofistratus, and the exiles, had recourse to the Carthaginians, who readily espoused

Attempts the sovereignty of Crotona and of Tarentum.

their cause. Hereupon the Syracusans, recalling Agathocles, appointed him commander in chief of their forces, which trust he discharged with more valour than integrity; for, having defeated the united forces of Sosistratus and the Carthaginians, on which occasion he received seven wounds, he began to exercise a sovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed, that he aspired at the monarchy. Wherefore the Syracusans, not daring to trust any of their own citizens, had recourse again to the Corinthians, who sent them Acestorides, to take upon him the command of their forces. Acestorides was no sooner vested with this power, than he formed a design of dispatching Agathocles, being sensible that Syracuse could never enjoy tranquility as long as Agathocles was alive. But as he was afraid his death might occasion some disturbance in the city, he commanded him to retire from Syracuse in the close of the evening, and placed on all the roads soldiers, with private orders to put him to death in the night, and bury his body. Agathocles, suspecting some treachery, chose a young man, who resembled him both in stature and features; and, having privately delivered to him his horse, arms, and garments, sent him before, enjoining him to keep the public road. He was scarce out of the gates, when the guards, mistaking him for Agathocles, killed him, and buried the body; nor were they undeceived, till news were brought some time after, that Agathocles, who had escaped by private ways, was raising troops in different parts of Sicily. The Syracusans were not a little alarmed when they heard, that he was not only alive, but had already raised a considerable army, and was preparing to come against the city. They therefore sent ambassadors to him; and, to avoid the evils of a civil war, offered to recall him, provided he disbanded his forces. Agathocles agreed to the proposal; and, on his return, being conducted by the citizens to the temple of Ceres, he swore, according to custom, in the most solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy *.

Notwithstanding the solemn oath he had taken, he no sooner saw himself restored to his country and estate, than he began to court the favour of the populace, and espouse their cause against the senate, which consisted of six hundred of the chief citizens, in order to sow divisions, and

Agathocles appointed commander in chief of the Syracusan forces. But soon divested of his command.

Saves his life by a stratagem.

Is recalled to Syracuse.

Courts the favour of the people.

* Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Justin. lib. xxii. Val. Max. lib. vii.

*Is again
vested
with the
chief com-
mand of
the army.*

raise new disturbances, by means of which he hoped to have an opportunity of overturning the government, and making himself master of the city. He pretended to protect the people against the oppressions and overgrown power of the senate, and was, in opposition to that body, created commander in chief of the forces which were to be sent against the city of Erbita, which had revolted from Syracuse. Agathocles, seeing himself again at the head of an army, resolved to get rid of all those who were in a condition to oppose his designs: having therefore appointed his troops to meet him early in the morning at a place near Syracuse, called Timoleonium, he there informed them, that, before they applied their arms against the inhabitants of Erbita, they must clear Syracuse of the six hundred tyrants, who were far more dangerous enemies than either the inhabitants of Erbita, or the Carthaginians themselves; that Syracuse could never enjoy perfect tranquility while one of them was left alive; that it was not enough to dispatch the tyrants, unless at the same time all those, who supported them, underwent the same fate. This was encouraging his soldiers, who were, for the most part, the refuse of the populace, to murder the whole body of the nobility at once. For their farther encouragement, he allowed them to plunder the houses, and seize on all the wealth of those they should put to death. When he had concluded his speech, the soldiery shewed an eager desire to be led against the tyrants, as they called them, and to deliver Syracuse from the oppressions it groaned under. Agathocles then, entering the city, commanded the trumpets to sound the charge; whereupon the soldiers, falling upon all those they met with, murdered them without distinction of rank, sex, or age; plundered their houses, and committed all sorts of cruelties. In a few hours four thousand and upwards were killed, and the street covered with dead bodies. But this was not enough for Agathocles; his design was not only to dispatch the nobles, but to leave few of the other citizens alive to oppose him. Wherefore he encouraged his men to pursue the massacre, giving them liberty to plunder, ravish, murder, and commit what enormities they pleased for two whole days and nights. On the third day he summoned an assembly of the few who had outlived the general slaughter; and told them, that, for the violent distemper with which the state had been long affected, he had been obliged to administer a no less violent remedy; that he had nothing else in view but to restore the democracy,

*He massacres all the
nobles and
chief citi-
zens.*

ocracy, and rescue the city from the cruel oppressions of a few tyrannical magistrates; and that, for the future, he would lead a private life, free from farther cares and toils. He knew he had left none alive fit to govern; and, on the other side, was well assured, that those who had assisted him in plundering and murdering their fellow-citizens, would never suffer him to resign his authority, having no hopes of impunity but in vesting him with the supreme power, at whose instigation they had committed so many enormities. He therefore had no sooner ended his speech, than they unanimously proclaimed him king; and decreed, that he should thenceforth govern with an absolute and uncontrouled power ¹.

Pretends a design to lay down his command, and retire.

Is proclaimed king.

Thus raised to the throne, the first law he enacted was, that all former debts should be cancelled, and the lands equally divided among the rich and the poor. By this unjust decree he gained the affection of the common people, and so weakened the opposite party, that the very few nobles, who had outlived the general slaughter, were now upon a level with the meanest of the people. Agathocles, having thus triumphed over his enemies, began to change his behaviour, and treat his subjects with humanity and moderation, allowing every individual to come freely into his presence, and patiently hearing their complaints, which, when it lay in his power, he never failed to redress. He likewise published several wholesome laws, seeking by every means to gain the love of his subjects, that he might be able to turn his arms against the other cities of Sicily, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. His subjects seemed disposed to second his ambitious views; a disposition which encouraged him to make war first on the neighbouring states, and afterwards to carry his arms into the principal parts of the island, which, in the space of two years, he brought entirely under subjection, except a few cities held by the Carthaginians ².

Cancels all debts, and divides the lands equally.

Reduces the greatest part of Sicily.

When intelligence was brought to Carthage of the progress Agathocles made in Sicily, Amilcar was immediately dispatched with a numerous fleet, and a great army, to put a stop to his conquests. The fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, in which Amilcar lost sixty ships of war, and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. However, being joined on his arrival by such of the Sicilians as hated Agathocles, his army was in a few days increased to forty thousand foot, and five thousand horse.

¹ Diodor. Justin. *ibid.*

² *Idem ibid.*

*Agathocles
defeated by
the Car-
thaginians.*

*Syracuse
besieged.*

*Agathocles
resolves to
transfer
the war in-
to Africa.*

With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of Himera, where Agathocles attacked him, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches, and cut most of his army in pieces. But while the Syracusans were busy in plundering the camp, a powerful reinforcement arrived from Carthage; which revived the courage of those who had fled, to such a degree, that they returned to the charge; and, finding the Syracusans in disorder, attacked them in front, while the new supplies fell on their rear. Thus was the fortune of the day changed, and Agathocles, who thought himself sure of the victory, obliged to save himself first in Gela, and afterwards within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the Carthaginians pursued him, and laid close siege to that important place, the reduction of which would have put them in possession of the whole island.

Agathocles, being reduced to such straits, and abandoned by all his allies in Sicily, from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, formed a design of so bold, and, in appearance, so impracticable a nature, that nothing but the success, with which it was attended, could justify the undertaking. This design was, to transfer the war into Africa, and besiege Carthage, at a time when he himself was besieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in Sicily. He communicated his design to no person whatsoever, but only told the Syracusans in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the losses they had sustained to that day. He then chose the most daring and intrepid among the soldiers and citizens of Syracuse, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the first call, and the horsemen to carry each along with him, besides his arms, a saddle and a bridle. He set at liberty all the slaves, who were able to bear arms, and incorporated them among his troops. Having embarked all his forces, he appointed his brother Antandrus governor of Syracuse, with men and provisions sufficient to held out a long siege; and, taking with him his sons Archagathus and Heraclides, he himself went on board. His fleet consisted of sixty galleys; but the Carthaginian squadron, far more numerous than his, blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that he was obliged to wait for some favourable opportunity to slip out. After he had attended a long time, and was ready to drop his design, a large fleet of transports appeared, laden with corn, and other provisions, for Syracuse. To intercept these, the Carthaginians

Carthaginians put to sea; and Agathocles no sooner saw the mouth of the harbour open, than he likewise hoisted sail. The Carthaginians at first imagined, that the enemy's fleet was sent to defend the transports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared to engage. But Agathocles continued his course towards Africa, being closely pursued by the Carthaginians, till, night coming on, they lost sight of him. In the mean time the transports, fortunately escaped the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn, and all other provisions. The Carthaginian admiral, finding, that, by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed them both, and that Agathocles did not return, resolved to pursue him, to prevent him from kindling the war in some other place. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights, steering his course towards Africa, he at last came up with the Syracusan fleet, and engaged them. But as his men were quite exhausted with rowing, the Syracusans gained the victory; and, having dispersed the enemy's fleet, landed on the coast of Africa, at a place called the Quarries^a.

Escapes the Carthaginian fleet.

Which he afterwards engages, and puts to flight.

Agathocles then acquainted his troops in a few words with his design. He told them, that the only way to divert the enemy from the siege of Syracuse, and drive them quite out of Sicily, was to carry the war into their own country; that he led men inured to the hardships of war against an enemy softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, who hated the Carthaginians, by whom they were treated rather like slaves than allies, would join them on the first news of their arrival; that the boldness of the attempt would strike the Carthaginians with terror, who were altogether unprepared to engage an enemy at the very gates of their metropolis; finally, that from no other enterprize they could reap more advantage and glory than from this, which would put them in possession of the whole wealth of Carthage, and transmit their names and fame to the latest posterity. The soldiers believed themselves already masters of Africa, and applauded this speech with loud shouts and acclamations. Agathocles, finding his soldiers so well disposed, resolved to set fire to his fleet, and burn all his ships, except one or two, for carrying dispatches. Many reasons determined him to so bold, or, as our historian calls it, so desperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa, where his ships could lie with safety; wherefore, as the

Yr. of Fl.
2069.
Ante Chr.
279.

Agathocles lands in Africa.

Takes a bold resolution.

^a Diodor. lib. xx. cap. i. Justin. lib. xxii.

Carthaginians were masters at sea, they would not fail to possess themselves of his fleet, which was no ways in a condition to contend with theirs. As he had but a small army, if he divided it, by leaving troops sufficient to defend the ships, he would not be strong enough to encounter the enemy. But what chiefly inspired him with this resolution was, that the fleet being once destroyed, his men would be under a necessity of conquering, having no other hopes of safety remaining, but in victory. Having therefore gained over such of the officers as were intirely at his devotion, he assembled the soldiery, and appeared among them in his royal robes with a crown on his head, as if he were going to perform some religious ceremony. Then, addressing himself to the assembly, he told them, that, when they left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy, in that fatal danger he applied himself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelar goddesses of Sicily, and promised to burn all the vessels of the fleet in their honour, if they delivered his men from the enemy, and helped them to land safe in Africa. "Aid me therefore, O fellow-soldiers!" said he, to discharge this vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." Having uttered these words, he took a torch in his hand, and led the way, on board his own ship, which he set on fire. All the officers imitated his example, and were chearfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole shore echoed with joyful shouts, and loud acclamations. The soldiers were not allowed time to reflect on what they were doing, being hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour; but when they had leisure to weigh every particular, and were apprised of the danger they were in, being separated from their own country by a large extent of sea, and in the midst of the enemies, without the least hopes or means of escaping, a sad and melancholy silence succeeded that transport of joy, and those acclamations, which but for a moiment before had been so general in the army^b.

*Burns his
ships.*

*Reduces
and plunders
some
cities in
Africa.*

Agathocles left no time for reflection; but, to revive the drooping spirits of his soldiers, led them against an important place, called the Great City, which was subject to Carthage. The country, through which they marched, afforded the most agreeable prospect imaginable. On either side were spacious meadows covered with flocks of cattle, country-houses built with extraordinary magnifi-

^b Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Justin. lib. xxii.

cence,

cence, delightful avenues planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, and delicious gardens, of a prodigious extent, kept with all possible care and elegance. This prospect re-animated the soldiers; who were again willing to run any danger, in hopes of obtaining so pleasant and wealthy a country as a reward of their toils and labour. They marched full of confidence to the Great City, took it by storm, and enriched themselves with the plunder. Thence they advanced to Tunis, which they likewise took sword in hand, and plundered. The soldiers were for garrisoning these two cities, that they might have some place to retire to in case of any misfortune; but Agathocles, that they might have no hopes of safety but in victory, caused them both to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields^c.

In the mean time the news of this unexpected descent reaching Carthage, threw the whole city into the utmost terror and confusion. They all concluded that their army before Syracuse was entirely cut off, and their fleet lost. The people hastened with trembling hearts to the marketplace, while the senate assembled, in a tumultuous manner, to deliberate how they might save the city, which the victorious enemy was, with hasty marches, advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to make head against the enemy, and their present danger did not allow them to wait till forces should be levied among their allies. It was therefore resolved, after long debates, that the citizens should be armed; and accordingly, in a few days, they assembled an army of forty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, with two hundred armed chariots. They appointed Hanno and Bomilcar to command their forces, notwithstanding the ancient grudges that still subsisted between their families, hoping that they would vie with one another in the defence of their common country, and turn their private quarrels to the public advantage. The generals immediately took the field, and possessing themselves of an eminence not far from the city, drew up their troops in order of battle. Agathocles had only fourteen thousand men, and was, therefore, not a little surprised when he saw so numerous an army ready to engage him. However he dissembled his fear; and, in order to encourage his men, who were quite dispirited, and under great apprehensions of the enemy's horse and chariots, he let out

Carthage in the utmost terror and confusion.

The citizens take arms, and form a numerous army.

By what stratagem Agathocles encouraged his men.

^c Idem ibid. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 6. Polyb. lib. xxii. Atheni. lib. iii. cap. 2.

*Hanno, one
of the Car-
thaginian
generals,
killed.*

*The Car-
thaginians
defeated by
the trea-
chery of
Bomilcar.*

several owls, which he had before prepared for that purpose. These, flying about the camp, and lighting on the soldier's shields, so raised their spirits, that they instantly began to advance against the enemy, not doubting, but by the assistance of Minerva, to whom that bird was sacred, and therefore looked upon by all the Greeks as a good omen, they should gain a complete victory. Agathocles willingly seconded their ardour, and putting himself at their head, charged the Carthaginians with incredible vigour. Hanno, with the sacred cohort, which consisted of the flower of the troops, sustained, a long time, the fury of the Greeks, and even put them in disorder; but being overwhelmed with showers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, bravely fighting to the last. Bomilcar, understanding that his rival was slain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity of possessing himself of the sovereignty, at which he had long aspired; but as he was sensible that he could not accomplish his design, if the army of Agathocles were destroyed, but might easily put it in execution if the enemy conquered, he resolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting but he should be able to defeat Agathocles whenever he pleased. Accordingly, acquainting his men with Hanno's death, he ordered them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to escape the fury of the victorious enemy; but as their retreat had the appearance of a flight, the Greeks pursued them so closely, that they put them in disorder, and gained a complete victory. The sacred cohort fought with great bravery even after the death of Hanno, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. They then retired in good order, and gained an eminence, where they halted, and still made head against those who pursued them; but, not being supported by Bomilcar, they were either cut off, or forced to save themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. Two hundred Greeks were slain in this battle, and a thousand, or, according to some, six thousand Carthaginians; so that the slaughter on neither side was considerable. Agathocles, after having pursued the enemy some time, returned, and allowed his soldiers to plunder the Carthaginian camp, where they found twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy

enemy had provided, not doubting but they should take many prisoners^d.

The Carthaginians now giving up all for lost, dispatched messenger after messenger to Amilcar in Sicily, with intelligence of what had happened in Africa, and express orders to hasten to the relief of his country. When the messengers arrived, Amilcar commanded them not once to mention the victory of Agathocles; but, on the contrary, to report it in the camp, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet taken by the Carthaginians. The senate of Carthage had sent to Amilcar, by the messengers, all the beaks of the Syracusan ships, that this report might more easily gain credit; for it was by their orders that he caused it to be disseminated. Amilcar, therefore, immediately dispatched ambassadors to Syracuse with the beaks of the ships, summoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, since their army and fleet in Africa were utterly destroyed. These melancholy tidings were commonly believed, and the whole city thrown into the utmost confusion; but the leading men, to prevent the mischiefs that might attend so general a consternation, not only dismissed the messengers without any answer, but expelled eight thousand of their citizens, who seemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. Amilcar entertained the exiles with great kindness, and, understanding from them the miserable condition the city was in, he resolved to assault it on all quarters at once; but first sent deputies, promising to spare Antandrus, and all those who sided with him, if he would deliver the city up into his hands. In consequence of this proposal a council of war was summoned, when Antandrus, who was very unlike his brother, was for capitulating; but Eurymnon, the Ætolian, whom Agathocles had left to assist his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him, and the rest, to hold out till they should receive certain intelligence of the truth. The assembly was scarce dismissed, when a galley, with thirty oars, arrived from Africa, and brought the agreeable tidings of Agathocles' victory, which immediately flew through the city, and restored spirit and resolution to the inhabitants. Amilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but being repulsed with loss, he raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country. He thought it needless to send all his forces, and still entertained hopes

Amilcar recalled from Sicily.

He falsely gives out that Agathocles and his army were cut off.

Syracuse in the utmost consternation.

The news of the victory of Agathocles brought to Syracuse. The siege raised.

^d Diodor. & Justin. *ibid.*

The Carthaginians defeated in Sicily. Amilcar taken, and put to a cruel death.

of obliging Agathocles to quit Africa, and return to the defence of his own kingdom. He spent some time in reducing such cities as sided with the Syracusans; and, after having brought all their allies under subjection, he returned again to Syracuse, hoping to surprise the city by attacking it in the night. But the Syracusans, having timely notice of his design, made a sally unexpectedly, routed his army, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand men, and took Amilcar himself prisoner. We are told, that Amilcar dreamt the night before, that he should sup the next day in Syracuse: his dream proved true: but the entertainment he met with was not so much to his satisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbarously murdered, led him in chains about the streets of the city; and after having vented their rage on the miserable captive by all sorts of torments, struck off his head. This was sent into Africa, a welcome present to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders, with the utmost difficulty, kept them from abandoning the camp and returning to Carthage^e.

Agathocles dispatches ambassadors to the prince of the Cyreneans:

who joins him; but is by him treacherously murdered.

Agathocles had already reduced all the cities subject to the Carthaginians, and was preparing to besiege Carthage itself; but, before he ventured upon so difficult and hazardous an enterprize, he sent ambassadors to all the princes of Africa, inviting them to join in the common cause, and afford him their assistance in overturning that imperious republic. His chief design was to gain over Ophellas, prince of the Cyreneans, who had been one of Alexander's captains, and, at that time, had on foot an army of ten thousand regular troops, and was contriving how he might enlarge his dominions. The ambassadors sent to him were charged to flatter his ambition, by promising him, in their master's name, the sovereignty of all Africa, which Agathocles had invaded with no other view but to oblige the Carthaginians to quit Sicily. Ophellas, allured by this promise, departed, at the head of twenty thousand men; and, after two months march, mostly through sandy deserts, at last joined Agathocles. As that prince did not scruple to commit the most enormous crimes to promote his interest, Ophellas had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than, by the blackest perfidy, he caused him to be murdered; and, by

^e *Iidem ibid.*

the most lavish promises, prevailed upon his army, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be entirely at his devotion. Such of the Cyreneans as he found unfit to bear arms (for many of them had brought along with them their wives and children) he put on board transports, and sent them to Syracuse, where few of them arrived, most of the ships being cast away near the Pithecusan islands. Agathocles, seeing himself now at the head of a numerous army, assumed the title of king of Africa; and, as Carthage was the only city which still held out, he invested it on all sides, with a design to reduce it by famine^f.

While he was lying before Carthage, he received advice, that, after the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and death of Amilcar, most of the cities, whether subject to the Carthaginians or Syracusans, had taken up arms, and entered into an association in defence of their liberties. As his affairs in Africa were in a very flourishing condition, he thought he might safely return into Sicily. Having, therefore, built some open vessels, with fifty oars each, and put two thousand men on board, he set sail for Sicily, leaving his son Archagathus commander in chief of his African army. Before him flew the fame of his victories, and his arrival struck the confederates with such terror, that many cities submitted without resistance; others were reduced by force of arms; and, in a short time, the whole island, except some few cities subject to the Carthaginians, acknowledged the sovereignty of Agathocles. Having thus settled affairs in Sicily, he returned to Africa, where he found the face of affairs quite changed by his absence. His son Archagathus had lost a battle, and his army was ready to revolt for want of provisions; the Carthaginians had recovered their courage, and were encamped in an advantageous post, whence it was difficult to dislodge them; all the avenues to the enemy's camp were guarded by strong detachments, and no pass was left open for conveying provisions to Agathocles' army, which was already in the utmost distress. In this critical juncture Agathocles attacked the enemy's camp, but was repulsed with the loss of three thousand men. After this unsuccessful attempt all the Africans in his army deserted; so that not having a sufficient force to contend with the Carthaginians, he resolved to leave Africa. But as he

*Agathocles
returns to
Sicily.*

*Sets sail
again for
Africa.*

Is defeated.

^f Diodor. lib. xx. cap. 3. Justin. lib. xxii.

could not possibly transport his army, both for want of ships, and because the Carthaginians were masters at sea, he determined to steal away privately, taking along with him only a few of his friends, and his younger son Heracles; for, as Arcagathus was a daring young man, he had always looked upon him with a jealous eye. But Archagathus being apprised of his design, discovered it to the officers and commanders of the army, and these imparted it to the soldiery, who, immediately running to their arms, seized on Agathocles, and secured him in safe custody. The army being now without a head, there was nothing in the camp but tumult and confusion. The ensuing night a report being spread that the enemy was advancing, they were seized with a panic; and, having none to command them, every one was preparing to save himself by flight, though they knew not whither to fly. In this confusion Agathocles, with a small body, stole away, and, embarking on board an open vessel, put to sea, leaving his children to the fury of the disappointed soldiers, who, immediately putting his sons to death, chose leaders from among themselves, and concluded a peace with the Carthaginians upon the following terms: that the Greeks should deliver up all the places they held in Africa, receiving for them three hundred talents; that such of them as were willing to serve under the Carthaginians should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay; that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. These articles were agreed to, and punctually observed, by the Carthaginians.

*Deserts his
army in
Africa.*

*Cruelties in
Sicily.*

Agathocles was no sooner landed in Sicily, but ordering part of his forces to join him, he marched against the Egestines, who had revolted in his absence; and having taken the town by storm, put all the inhabitants to death, without distinction of sex or age. The nobles he caused to be first tortured with the most exquisite torments rage or malice could invent. When he was informed of the death of his children in Africa; he ordered his brother Antandrus, governor of Syracuse, to put all those to death, who were any ways related to such of the Syracusans, as had attended him in the Carthaginian expedition. His orders were put in execution with such cruelty, that the sea was dyed to a great extent with blood. Such inhuman butchery had never before been heard of even in Sicily; all those were related to any of the African army, from the
great

great grandfather to the sucking child, being barbarously murdered by the tyrant's order ^g.

This execrable cruelty raised him many enemies, who, joining Dinocrates, whom the tyrant had banished, reduced him to such difficulties, that he was obliged to court the friendship of the Carthaginians, and purchase a peace of them at a very dear rate; for he restored all the cities, which they had formerly possessed in Sicily. He even sent ambassadors to Dinocrates, offering to resign the sovereignty, provided two strong holds, which he named, were left in his hands for the greater security of his person. These proposals were rejected by Dinocrates, who aspired to the supreme power, and had then under his command above twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, which he must have disbanded, and submitted to the democracy, if Agathocles had abdicated the tyranny. Agathocles, finding he could not obtain a peace upon any terms, resolved to put all to the issue of a battle; and, attacking Dinocrates in his camp, gained a complete victory with five thousand foot only, and eight hundred horse. The remains of the shattered army retired to a neighbouring eminence, whence they sent deputies to capitulate with the conqueror, who promised to spare their lives, provided they delivered up their arms. But they were no sooner disarmed, than the tyrant caused them to be put to the sword. As for Dinocrates, who was a tyrant of the same stamp with himself, he received him into his friendship, and ever after entrusted him with his most weighty affairs. After this victory Agathocles, in two years, brought the whole island under subjection, except those cities only, which, by the late treaty, he had restored to the Carthaginians ^h.

Reduced to great difficulties by Dinocrates.

Gains a complete victory over him.

Brings the whole island under subjection.

Reduces the Brutii, and the islands of Lipari.

Having nothing more to do in Sicily, he passed over into Italy, where he subdued the Brutii, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From Italy he crossed over to the Lipari islands, and obliged the inhabitants, who lived in perfect peace and security, to pay him a hundred talents of gold. After he had received this sum, he plundered the sacred treasure, stripped the temples, and then set sail for Syracuse, with eleven ships laden with the gold and spoils of the temples; but a violent storm arising, all the vessels were cast away, except one galley, in which he himself escaped, to suffer a more mi-

^g Diod. lib. xx. cap. 3.

^h Idem ibid. Justin. lib. xxii.

Orosius, lib. vii. cap. 6. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii.

Yr. of Fl.
59.
Ante Chr.
29.

His death.

His character.

serable end. He was poisoned by one Mænon, whom he had unnaturally abused, at the instigation of his grandson Archagathus. It was the tyrant's custom always after his meals to pick his teeth with a quill, which Mænon having dipped in poison, his teeth and gums putrefied, and his whole body was tortured with racking pains, in the height of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile, and burnt, while he was still alive, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and ninety-fifth of his age. He was a man of great intrepidity and resolution, but of a most cruel and savage temper; for he is said to have put more persons to death in the three last years of his life, than all the tyrants before him had destroyed during the whole time of their respective reigns. He never forgot his mean extraction, but rather gloried in the contemptible calling of a potter, which he had followed in his youth, saying, that it set off with more lustre the high station to which his own valour had advanced him; nay, even in public entertainments, while his guests were served in gold and silver plate, he used to eat in earthen-ware, saying, that though he wore a diadem, yet he was still a potter (F). From the meanness of his condition Polybius endeavours to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to Timæus, who tells us, that his rise was entirely owing to fortune, and not to any parts of his own. Scipio Africanus agrees with Polybius; for that illustrious Roman, being asked who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs, answered, Agathocles, and Dionysius the elder¹. The descent of Agathocles into Africa induced Scipio to make the same attempt; wherefore in his answer to Fabius, who did not approve of his design, he did not forget to mention Agathocles as an in-

¹ Polyb. lib. xv.

(F) This is elegantly expressed by Aufonius in the following verses :

Fama est sicilibus coenasse Agathoclea regem,
Atque abacum Samio sæpe onerasse luto.
Fercula gemmatis cum poneret horrida vasis,
Et miseret opes pauperiemque simul,
Quærenti causam respondit, Rex ego qui sum
Sicanis, figulo sum genitore satus.
Fortunam reverenter habe, quicumque repente
Dives ab exili progrediare loco.

stance

stance in favour of his enterprize, and to shew, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, but by carrying the war into his country. But, how great soever Agathocles's parts may have been, they were far exceeded by his cruelties, which have rendered his memory execrable, and obscured the glory of his greatest conquests.

It was after the death of Agathocles, that the Mamertini treacherously seized on Messana, and, by degrees, possessed themselves of a considerable part of the island. According to the Latin writers, the Mamertini were originally Campanians; and assumed the name of Mamertini, that is, *invincible warriors*, from the word Mamers, or Mavors, signifying *Mars the god of war*. As they were a resolute nation, they were invited into Sicily by Agathocles, to assist him in his conquests; but being disbanded after his death, they retired to Messana, with a design to return into their own country. The inhabitants of Messana admitted them into the city, and entertained them with great hospitality, which was ill requited by them; for, being charmed with a habitation, which greatly resembled their native country, they resolved to settle there, seize on the city, and form themselves into a republic. Accordingly they fell unexpectedly upon the ancient inhabitants, put all the men to the sword, and married their wives and daughters. Being masters of the city, they not only maintained themselves in their usurpation, but reduced most of the neighbouring states, and extended their dominions to the middle of the island.

Messana seized by the Mamertini.

Syracuse underwent many revolutions after the death of Agathocles. Mœnon, who had poisoned him, usurped the supreme authority; but being driven out by Hycetas, he had recourse to the Carthaginians; a step which gave rise to a new war, wherein Hycetas, having gained several victories over the joint-forces of Mœnon and the Carthaginians, at last seized on that authority of which he had deprived his rival, and governed Syracuse with an absolute sway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the ninth year of his command, the Agrigentines having revolted, he left Syracuse, and marched against Phintias, who was at the head of the rebels and Syracusan exiles. In his absence one Tœnion usurped the sovereign power; but being opposed by Sosistrates, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city; Tœnion

The distracted state of Syracuse.

*Pyrrhus
invited in-
to Sicily.*

*Willingly
complies
with the
invitation.*

*His con-
quests in
that island.*

held the island, and his rival possessed the other quarters of the city. In the mean time the Carthaginians, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to Syracuse, and invested the capital itself with a powerful fleet, and an army of fifty thousand men. A regard therefore to their mutual safety, united the two competitors, Tœnion and Sosistrates. They were tired of a war, which could only end in their common ruin, and therefore joined in inviting Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to put an end to the troubles, which threatened the state with utter destruction. Many reasons prompted them to have recourse to Pyrrhus, rather than to any other of the many sovereigns, who reigned at that time in Europe and Asia. Pyrrhus had married Lanessa, the daughter of Agathocles, and had by her a son, whom the Syracusans *thought* it reasonable to place on the throne of his grandfather, since they could not by any other means rid themselves of their domestic tyrants. He had already given signal proofs of his courage, and therefore seemed well qualified to make head against the Carthaginians, and stop the great progress they were making towards the reduction of the whole island. The Leontines and Agrigentines joined with Tœnion and Sosistrates in pressing the king of Epirus to come and take upon him the defence of their respective states, offering to deliver up the cities into his hands. Pyrrhus, who wanted to withdraw from Italy, where he was engaged in a war with the Romans, willingly complied with the request of the Sicilians; and, leaving a strong garrison in Tarentum, embarked for Sicily, where he landed amidst the acclamations of a numberless multitude, which, on the news of his approach, had flocked to see him. Tœnion and Sosistrates immediately put him in possession of the city, the fleet, and public treasure. All the cities on that coast followed the example of Syracuse, the name of Pyrrhus resounding on all sides, as if victory had landed with him. His insinuating and affable behaviour, at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the Sicilians; and, as he had an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he drove the Carthaginians from place to place, till he divested them of all their acquisitions in the island, except the two important places of Eryx and Lilybæum. The former he took by assault, and was himself the first man who mounted the wall, after having killed a great many Africans with his own hand. The Mamertini

mertini likewise felt the effects of his courage, being defeated by him in a pitched battle, driven from all the places they possessed, and shut up within the walls of Messina. The Carthaginians, alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms; but he, elated with his great success, answered them, that the only means to obtain what they desired was to abandon Sicily, and let the Libyan sea be the boundary between Carthage and Greece. He depended so much on the reduction of the whole island, that he styled his son, by the daughter of Agathocles, king of Sicily, and caused him to be acknowledged as such by the Syracusans, and their confederates. Having thus put his son in possession of the kingdom of Sicily, he began to entertain thoughts of sailing to Africa, and making war on the Carthaginians in their own territories, though they were still masters of Lilybæum, which was a key to the whole island. This design was no ways agreeable to the Sicilians, who were sensible, that they could not enjoy a perfect tranquility, so long as the Carthaginians had any footing in the island; besides, Messina was still in the hands of the Mamertini, who would not fail to take advantage of the king's absence, and raise new disturbances. They therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from his African expedition. But, notwithstanding their remonstrances, he persisted in his resolution, and began to make the necessary preparations for the conquest of Africa, which he hoped to subdue with as little trouble as he had found in taking possession of Sicily ^k.

Makes his son king of Sicily.

Pyrrhus had ships of his own sufficient for this expedition; but, as he wanted seamen, he obliged the maritime cities in his interest to furnish him with sailors, and even forced into the service persons of rank, who had any experience in maritime affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he paid no regard to their complaints. However, the Sicilians bore these outrages with patience, as they carried some appearance of zeal for the public welfare. But the king, who could bear no contradiction, taking offence at their opposing his new scheme, began to act more like an arbitrary tyrant, than a prince who was come to deliver them from the oppressions they groaned under; a conduct which soon drew upon him the hatred

He dis-oblige the Sicilians.

His arbitrary proceedings.

^k Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. lib. i. Justin. lib. xviii. Dion. Halic. in Excerpt.

of the whole nation. When he plainly saw, that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, not able to bear his arbitrary government, were contriving how to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew to be entirely at his devotion, under pretence that the Carthaginians were preparing to renew the war. He likewise seized the most powerful and illustrious citizens of each city, and, charging them with treasonable practices, either put them to death, or banished them the island. Full of jealousy, as all tyrants are, he would have forced Sofistrates, to attend him into Africa, not thinking it safe to leave him in Syracuse during his absence. But Sofistrates, to avoid complying with his commands, revolted from him, and retired from his native city. As for Tœnion, he was more compliant, and continued with the king; but while he believed himself one of his chief favourites, he was by his order cruelly assassinated. Tœnion had crowned him king of Syracuse on his first landing, and contributed more than any other person to the reduction of Sicily; but the important services he had rendered the king were not sufficient to exempt him from the cruel effects of his jealousy. These tyrannical proceedings put an end to the success of Pyrrhus in Sicily. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertini his avowed enemies. His troops were soon reduced to his Epirot phalanx, the Sicilians daily deserting in crowds, and increasing the enemies forces. When Carthage heard of this change, new troops were raised all over Africa, and a numerous army sent into Sicily, to recover the ancient conquests of the African republic; whilst a large fleet cruised round the island, to prevent Pyrrhus from making his escape ¹.

Yr. of Fl.

2073.

Ante Chr.

275.

He abandons Sicily, and returns to Italy.

Such was the situation of Pyrrhus's affairs, when deputies came to him from the Samnites, Tarentines, Brutians, and Lucanians, whom he had abandoned to pursue new conquests in Sicily. They represented to him the dangers they had been in, with the losses they had sustained, since his departure; and remonstrated, that, without his assistance, their cities and liberties must fall a sacrifice to the Romans, who had already dispossessed them of all their lands, and shut them up within their walls.

¹ Plut. in Pyrr. Dion. apud Valef.

This

This embassy furnished him with an honourable pretence for his departure : he was glad to have an opportunity of making the world believe, that he had abandoned Sicily not out of fear of the enemy, but to comply with the request of his allies. He therefore seemed at first to deliberate what part to chuse, being, as it were, divided between Sicily, Africa, and Italy. But Italy prevailed; and he began to prepare for his voyage, from which his new subjects in Sicily did not offer to divert him. When he was on the point of setting sail, he cried out, at the sight of that wealthy country which he was abandoning, "What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans!" A prediction, which was soon fulfilled. He embarked in the ships which he had brought with him from Italy; but was met at sea, by the Carthaginians, who, attacking him, sunk seventy of his gallies, and dispersed or took the rest, so that he saved himself in the ports of Italy with only twelve vessels, the poor remains of a fleet of two hundred sail. Nor was this all his misfortune: the Mamertini, no sooner heard of his departure, than they detached a body of eighteen thousand men to harass him after his landing. These, having passed the streights before him, posted themselves in the road which Pyrrhus was obliged to take in marching by land to Tarentum, and lying concealed among the woods and rocks, attacked him with great resolution. But Pyrrhus behaved himself on this occasion with his usual bravery. The attack being made on his rear, he hastened thither; and, at the head of his men, made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, till a wound he received on the head obliged him to retire. But he soon returned to the charge with fresh fury. As he was supposed to be disabled by his wound, a proud Mamertine of an extraordinary size, and shining in bright armour, advanced out of the ranks, and with a loud voice challenged the king of Epirus, if he was yet alive, to single combat. Pyrrhus immediately turned about, and, making a dreadful appearance, occasioned by the blood which ran down his face, flew upon this new champion, and discharged such a blow on his head, that he cleft him in two, one part of his body falling to the right, and the other to the left. This feat, which has been since ascribed to other warriors, perhaps with as much truth as to Pyrrhus, filled the Mamertini with terror, who suffered the Epirots to continue their march to Tarentum ^m.

His fleet destroyed by the Carthaginians.

Is attacked by the Mamertini.

His gallant behaviour.

^m Plut. *ibid.*

Upon

Hiero appointed general of the Syracusans.

His birth and education.

Prognostics of his future grandeur.

His engaging behaviour.

Upon the departure of Pyrrhus, Hiero was appointed to command the Syracusan forces, against the Carthaginians, who had regained most of the places which they possessed before the arrival of the Epirots. Hiero was the son of Hierocles, one of the descendents of Gelon, the first king of Syracuse, of whose glorious reign and exploits we have already given a full account. His descent was not so honourable by the mother's side; for she was a slave, and of a very mean extraction. Wherefore Hierocles, or, as Justin calls him, Hieroclytus, thinking it beneath him to take care of the education of a son, who was the first fruit of an unlawful intercourse, caused him, according to the barbarous custom of those days, to be exposed, soon after his birth, in a forest, where a swarm of bees is said to have nourished him some days with their honey. Upon the report of this prodigy, Hierocles consulted the soothsayers, who told him, that this son would one day mount the throne of his ancestors, and restore his family to its ancient splendor. The father, being pleased with this answer, owned him, and caused him to be brought up in a manner suitable to his birth. When he came to man's estate, he distinguished himself by his courage, prudence, and address in all military exercises. He made his first campaigns under Pyrrhus, who had a great value for him, and honoured him with such rewards as generals used to bestow on those who excelled the rest in valour. In his first campaign an eagle is said to have perched on his helmet, and an owl upon his lance: and these two birds, the former being the symbol of valour, the latter of wisdom, seemed to confirm the first prediction. Indeed young Hiero did not bely those prognostics; he so improved himself in the art of war, under the direction of such a great master as the king of Epirus, that he was esteemed the best commander in the army, when he was but twenty-five years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour, gained him more honour than his military exploits. He appeared to have been born for virtue alone, and to be governed by no other passion but the love of glory. Justin draws the following picture of this brave youth: he was exceedingly handsome, of a robust constitution, and extraordinary strength. His affability in conversation, equity in the management of affairs, and moderation in the government of the people, were such, that he wanted nothing but a crown to be a great king. And this his extraordinary

traordinary merit soon procured him, as we shall afterwards find.

When Pyrrhus left Sicily, the city of Syracuse, being destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. To remove this confusion, the troops chose Hiero and Artemidorus for their commanders; and the two generals had nothing more at heart than to re-establish good order in the capital. With this view they entered the city at the head of the army, and Hiero, on this occasion, first discovered uncommon talents and genius for governing. By the arts of insinuation and address, without shedding of blood, or hurting a single citizen, he calmed the minds of the people, reconciled the factions, and so gained the hearts of all, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the soldiery for assuming the right of choosing their own generals, yet unanimously confirmed him in the command, investing him with all civil and military power during the interregnum^a.

*Is chosen
one of the
generals.*

*Gains the
affections
of the Sy-
racusans.*

Hiero, being now at the head of the army, began to take such measures as might prevent any further disturbances in the city. He observed, that the generals and troops no sooner left the city to take the field, but Syracuse was involved in fresh troubles by seditious spirits, and lovers of novelty. He thought it therefore necessary, to have some person of merit and rank, upon whom he might rely for retaining the city in its duty, during his absence, and that of the army. Leptines seemed very fit for this purpose, being a man of great interest and authority among the people. In order, therefore, to attach him to his interest, he married his daughter; and always left his father-in-law governor of the city, when he took the field; by which means he secured both himself, and the public tranquillity. Another circumstance that gave Hiero great uneasiness, and raised frequent disturbances, was the ungovernable temper of the mercenaries in the service of the republic. They had no respect for their commanders, nor affection for a state of which they were no part; and therefore always ready to revolt, and even join the enemy, when their unjust demands were not complied with, and their hopes of gain not answered. They were so united among themselves, that Hiero could not by any means reduce them; if he undertook to punish the most criminal among them, the whole corps espoused his

*Marries
the daugh-
ter of one
of the first
and best ci-
tizens.*

^a Justin. lib. xxiii. cap. 4.

*Gets rid of
the sediti-
ous mer-
cenaries.*

cause; so that the general was rather governed by them, than they by him. He therefore concluded, that the only means to terminate the troubles they had occasioned, was utterly to extirpate that seditious body, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition, could only corrupt others, and incline them to the same pernicious practices. Accordingly he came at last to this resolution, which was contrary to his natural inclination, but judged by him necessary for the tranquility of his country, and safety of his own person. He took the field, under pretence of marching against the Mamertini; but when he came within sight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one composed of Syracusans, the other of mercenaries; he ordered the latter to begin the charge, putting himself at the head of the former, as if he designed to support them. The mercenaries fell upon the enemy with the utmost fury, but being abandoned by the Syracusans, were all cut in pieces. The Syracusan troops he brought back safe to the city, having taken care to post them so, as to have a river between them and the enemy.

*Reviews
the military
discipline.*

Hiero, having thus purged his army of those mutineers, revived military discipline among the Syracusans, took other mercenaries, more tractable, into his service, and, by degrees, rendered his army formidable, both to the Carthaginians and Mamertini. He first made trial of their valour against the latter, who, elated with the advantage they had gained over the mercenaries, marched into the territories of Syracuse, destroying all before them with fire and sword. Hereupon Hiero took the field, engaged them in the plains of Mylæ (G), totally defeated them, and took their general, Cios, prisoner. Cios, being carried to the Syracusan camp, beheld the horse which his son had rode in battle, and taking it for granted that he was killed, resolved to live no longer; accordingly, loosening the ligatures of his wounds, he soon after expired. By his death, the Mamertini being destitute of a leader, Hiero invaded their territories, and possessed himself of the ci-

*Defeats the
Mamer-
tini, and
takes their
general
prisoner.*

• Justin. lib. xxiii. Polyb. lib. i. cap. 16.

(G) Mylæ, now Milazzo, was formerly a colony of the Tyndaritani, who settled in that part of Sicily. It was si-

tuated in a peninsula in the north point of the island, and had a very convenient harbour.

ties

ties of Mylæ, Amasela, Alæsa, and Abacænum (H); and then returned, loaded with glory and booty, to Syracuse, where he was declared king by the unanimous consent of the citizens, and soon after acknowledged as such by all their allies ². *Hiero declared king of Syracuse.*

² Justin. & Polyb. *ibid.*

(H) Abacænum stood in the north part of Sicily. Cluverius places it near the little city of Tripio. As for the city of Tyndaris, it was not far distant from Abacænum; and the name of it is still preserved in the place called at present Santa Maria di Tyndaro. It was originally a colony of the Lacedæmonians, who are supposed to have given it the name of Tyndaris, from Tyndarus the father of Leda.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.



